OCTOBER 17
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NEW MASSES

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RETURN TO
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
WARNER BROS.

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT INDIA?

by Kumar Goshal

ELECTION SCOREBOARD

MINNESOTA'S UNHOLY TWINS

by Virginia Gardner

BATTLELINES IN TENNESSEE

by Harold Preece

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: **HOW JAPAN CAN BE TAKEN, by Colonel T.; WHAT FDR MEANS TO A JEW, by Joseph Brainin; MY VOTE AND WHY: Robert W. Kenny, Henry Epstein, Dwight J. Bradley, Charles A. Collins, Marion Hathway, and others. Joseph Foster reviews MGM's 'Seventh Cross.' Cartoons by Gardner Rea and Gropper.**

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

THIS issue was on the press when news came of the lamentable death of Wendell L. Willkie. Time does not permit us anything more, this week, than the expression of our deepest condolences to his family, and our feeling of grief that the nation has lost one of its finest sons—a man whose vision of One World has inspired millions here and abroad. We shall deal with the meaning of his life and ideas in next week's issue: today, we can only say that his fellow-Americans who understood his approaches to a durable peace will labor all the harder to achieve those goals. America has lost a brave pioneer of the twentieth century, but the paths he helped hew will be trod by the millions for whom he spoke.

NEXT week NM will publish a symposium on "What To Do With Germany?" based on two recent articles by R. Palme Dutt ("Keys to A Lasting Peace") and Hans Berger ("What About Germany?"). Participating in the discussion are Louis Nizer, prominent lawyer and author of the book *What To Do With Germany;* Professor Albert Guerard, of the English Department of Stanford University and author of several works on Europe; Luigi Sturzo, distinguished Italian anti-fascist and a founder of the Christian Democratic Party of Italy; Albert H. Schreiner, who wrote *Hitler's Motorized Army*, among other books; William Jay Schieffelin, member of the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy; Lion Feuchtwanger, famous anti-fascist German novelist; J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister of Republican Spain, editor Political War Section of *The Nation*. John Stuart, NM's foreign editor, will comment on the discussion.

WE'RE glad to note that people are responding to NM's sub drive without the shot in the arm of all those pretty prizes we are offering on the back cover.

For example: the woman who called up today and asked for details, announcing that she wasn't in the least interested in a prize, but how did she go about getting subs? "You deserve them," she said. "What am I supposed to do?" Well, we said, read our back cover last week and this, and see what you think. We hope you'll all do that—old timers and new—and that they'll pep you up to do things for your magazine. You can use that trip to Washington for January 20. It's bound to be a great day for the lucky winner. You'll be meeting lots of people these days and for some of them discovering NM for the first time may be exciting. And you can have the satisfaction of working to see Roosevelt put in office in more ways than one.

FOR the past eight years NM readers have enjoyed Samuel Sillen's searching and thought-provoking articles. We on this staff are among his warmest admirers for we know best, on close association with him, what clarity he has thrown on the many knotty questions of America's culture. Not the least of his achievements has been his researches into America literary tradition and his most recent work, *The Heritage of Walt Whitman*, has already won the plaudits of the most discerning critics and readers.

Thousands of Americans eager for information and light upon the cultural issues of our time will now be able to find Dr. Sillen in a daily newspaper as well as in NEW MASSES. Our readers will join us in congratulating the *Daily Worker* upon the announcement that Dr. Sillen has joined their staff as literary editor. We know what a sterling contribution he will make to the already outstanding work of that newspaper.

Dr. Sillen is currently preparing a series of articles for NM which will continue his researches into America's rich cultural heritage. We shall announce their nature more specifically in an early issue.

THE recent American Legion convention was an enigma to many progressive-minded people. The veterans of the first war made some of the same old noises but they are turning in new directions. Bob Thompson, who has seen service in World War II, and holds the Distinguished Service Cross, analyzes the proceedings in an article soon to be published. "*In what direction is the Legion moving* in relation to the basic issues and forces in American political and social life?"—Sergeant Thompson puts the question and poses some of the possible answers.

IN A. B. MAGIL'S article, "I Meet a Few More Fuehrers," in our October 3 issue, there appeared the following: "Gannett, according to a recent issue of *Publishers' Weekly*, has been a frequent guest at the governor's mansion in Albany." Mention of *Publishers' Weekly* was a mental slip, Mr. Magil says. It was *Editor and Publisher* that published the story about the friendship between Mr. Gannett and Mr. Dewey.

M. DE A.

NEW MASSES
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NEW MASSES

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INDIA DEADLOCK

By KUMAR GOSHAL

EVER since the ill-fated Cripps mission in the spring of 1942, news about India in the American press has been scarce. Even some sections of the liberal press have followed a hush-hush policy toward India. During a recent discussion over colonial problems, an honest editor of a liberal newspaper gave me a twofold reason for soft-pedaling the Indian scene at the present time. This editor argued that, first of all, the wrong people in the United States use the evil of imperialism to smear our ally Britain. This, he rightly contended, would lead to anti-British feeling, thereby endangering the unity of the United Nations. Therefore, he concluded, in order to preserve harmony today and tomorrow, no embarrassing criticism of the British government should be made at this time.

The problem, unfortunately, is not so simple. I have no doubt that the opinions expressed by this editor are shared by many liberals in the United States. Yet these arguments seem to me not only fallacious but conducive to the very danger these liberals wish to avoid. The isolationists, the anti-British and the pro-fascists in America are not sporting enough fellows to shut up simply because the liberals offer no opposition. In fact, by remaining silent, the liberals leave the field to them. Nor do the wrong elements in America lack ammunition. Thus, while the news of the famine in India and William Phillips' letter to President Roosevelt about Indian conditions appeared in the American press, they were handled gingerly, as one handles repugnant objects. They were published without analysis, as were the official British explanations and denials, which, in reality, explained and denied nothing. All this was grist to the mill of the reactionaries in the United States. And the public, lacking a frame of reference, was confused, to say the least.

This danger of confusion still exists, and in fact increases as the emphasis of war is about to shift to Asia. The Phillips letter furnishes an excellent example. It will be recalled that, among other things, Phillips said: "It would appear that we will have the prime responsibility in the conduct of the war against Japan. There is no evidence that the British intend to do more than give token assistance." Immediately there was vehement denial of this accusation from various official quarters. The British Information Service stated that "there is abundant evidence that Britain is now preparing to participate a great deal more" in the Asiatic theater of war. Anthony Eden spoke in similar vein in London. And at the Quebec conference Mr. Churchill said that the only point of difference arose over what he considered the American desire to do too much of the fighting themselves in Asia, whereas Britain wanted a greater share in that fight.

One is compelled to ask, what does the British government mean by "preparing to participate more"? Logically such preparation should include the full mobilization of the enormous resources and manpower of India. But nothing is being done in this direction. Facts prove that only the British Commonwealth is mobilized for participation, whereas the mobilization of India, the keystone of the Empire, is studiously avoided. Is it difficult to imagine how this plays into the hands of those who are actively engaged in creating anti-British feeling in America?

TO DISCUSS India's contribution to the war against Japan, it is necessary to take a brief look at India today. Most of the Indian leaders are in jail incommunicado. The people's living conditions are beyond description. There is every indication that the famine, which took such a heavy toll of life last year, is casting its ominous shadow over the land again, because no basic steps have been taken by the government to avert it.

The outbreaks of violence provoked by the arrest of the Indian National Congress leaders in August 1942, have died down; but the methods used to suppress them have left a legacy of bitterness and anger. It is important to note that the outbreaks, confined largely to student groups, died down not so much because of British bayonets as because of the ceaseless educational campaign conducted especially by the members of the Trade Union Congress, the Communist Party, and the *Kisan Sabha* (Peasant League), which kept the larger issues of the war alive in the hearts of the Indian people.

Political deadlock continues in India even though after his release from prison last May, Gandhi made a series of proposals opening the door to a peaceful solution. Despite his repeated denials, the British government continued accusing Gandhi of advising the Indian people to sabotage the United Nations' war effort and of preventing Hindu-Moslem unity by opposing the Moslem League's demand for a separate Moslem state. Gandhi now positively urges the Indians to support the war effort to the best of their ability; he has conceded the right of the Moslems to determine their future status in a free India through a plebiscite in the predominantly Moslem areas; he has invited the Moslem League to join the Congress in its demand for a provisional Indian national government for the duration of the war and has asked the government to release the Congress leaders and reopen negotiations with that aim in view.

Gandhi's proposals brought new hope of a solution to India. Public opinion, both in India and in Britain, strongly supported Gandhi. Irrespective of religious denomination or political affiliation, all Indian newspapers and organizations called for the release of the Indian leaders and the establishment of a national government. They were joined by the Indian industrialists J. R. D. Tata and Sir Homi Modi,

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who asserted that delay by the British government will prove that they "are determined to carry on as they are doing, regardless of the feeling throughout the country that their persistence in a purely negative policy is against the true interests of India." Many Labor MP's, British authors and journalists issued similar statements. But the British government refuses to budge an inch from its stand. Viceroy Lord Wavell has three times refused to hold an interview with Gandhi.

Thus, political stalemate continues and the British government continues to give excuses for the maintenance of the status quo and vague promises for the future. It is necessary, once and for all, to sift these excuses and look squarely at these promises in order to reach the heart of the Indian problem.

The British government states that nothing can be done in the course of the war to establish a national government because of lack of unity between the Congress and the Moslem League and also because it would require a constitutional change, impossible during the war; that India's contribution to the war effort has not suffered because of the present situation, and there has been tremendous industrial expansion in India during the war; and that the Cripps proposals have offered freedom to India after the war.

This is complete sham. The government itself is preventing Congress-Moslem League unity by keeping the Congress leaders in jail incommunicado. There is no insuperable obstacle to the establishment of a national government, as was pointed out by Cripps himself in October 1939. It is true that Cripps used the same excuse in 1942, on the basis that a Japanese invasion of India was imminent; but no such threat of invasion exists today.

India's contribution to the war, though not inconsiderable, has been negligible compared to her potentialities. In natural resources she ranks next to the United States and the Soviet Union; yet she has contributed only such items as burlap, puttees, tents, leather goods, small ammunition, etc., but no tanks, ships, or planes. Indian mills and factories derive their power from coal and electricity. But the output of coal has decreased sharply, and the slight increase in electric power output has been nowhere near enough to offset the loss in coal production. The total supply of industrial power is actually less than it was in 1937-38. What has really happened is that a very large proportion of existing production has been diverted from civilian to military needs, but industrial activity as a whole has not increased. The fact remains also that with a population of nearly 400,000,000, the number of Indians fighting in the British Army is minute.

Wavell and Leopold Amery, Secretary of State for India, have accused Gandhi of failure to offer a constructive program; yet with full power in their hands, they themselves have done nothing constructive whatsoever. No proper steps have been taken to alleviate the famine situation, and the program presented by the *Kisan Sabha* has been ignored. There is an acute shortage of food supplies, but no rationing or price control. Price levels have reached dizzy heights, many items costing 1,000 percent over the pre-war price. The general cost of living has risen by 250 percent to 300 percent. Inflation is rife, speculation and black market operations flourish unchecked, and the vast majority of the people have been reduced to utter destitution.

It is true that other countries have suffered casualties and serious privations in the course of the war. But in India's case the dead number nearly 5,000,000, and these died not in defense of their country but from famine which could have been prevented by a competent government. And the severity of the privations the people are suffering today could have been—and still can be—lessened by proper government action. India's contribution to the war effort, so far, has been largely negative; the only condition under which she can make more positive contribution requires, as William Phillips reported to President Roosevelt, the establishment of a provisional national government, the demand for which is virtually unanimous in India.

PHILLIPS also stated that the British government should declare that "India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war." To this the British Information Service has countered that "Britain has gone a good deal further than offering India self-government on a specific date. The Cripps proposals left the date to the decision of the Indian leaders themselves." But the fact is that the Cripps proposals did not offer independence to India. The Cripps proposals also stated that the British government will transfer political power to an Indian government provided that the various parties and groups in India reached a prior agreement among themselves with regard to a constitutional form of government. In case of failure to reach an agreement, provision was made for dissenting provinces of British India as well as the Indian princes' states to stay outside the union and establish their own relationships with the British Crown.

Admittedly there is lack of unity in India—but so is there such a lack, in varying degrees, in Britain, China, and the United States. The greater unity the Indians develop, the stronger they will necessarily be; from this standpoint the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting (Jinnah is head of the Moslem League), though it has temporarily ended without any definite agreement, is a great improvement over the past. It is well to bear in mind that a perfect solution of the minority problems in a country as large as India is a slow process. Gandhi's appeal to the people to exert their pressure on the leaders indicates that there is already a greater understanding than ever before among Hindus and Moslems. By putting undue emphasis on the communal question, the British government is in effect asking for an impossible ideal unity in India before it is willing, presumably, to part with power. In the debate over India in the House of Lords, the Undersecretary of State for India, Lord Munster, significantly stated, "Let it not be forgotten, that if an agreement is reached between the Congress Party and the Moslem League . . . there are still a number of minorities to be solved." Under the best of circumstances there will always be many of the 562 Indian princes, whose sovereignty is guaranteed by "solemn treaties" with the British government, barring the road to freedom for India. This last point was the biggest "joker" in the Cripps proposals.

The reason for British stubbornness is not far to seek. As long as there is a possibility of the pre-war world economy being restored in the postwar period, Britain and other imperial powers will continue tightening their hold on colonial possessions for combined reasons of profit, security, power, and prestige. Under an imperialist economy of restricted production, controlled markets and monopoly of natural resources, India is indispensable to Britain.

This is the heart of the Indian problem; all other arguments are mere eyewash. *India and all other colonial countries can become free through comparatively peaceful means only if their freedom does not adversely affect the econ-*

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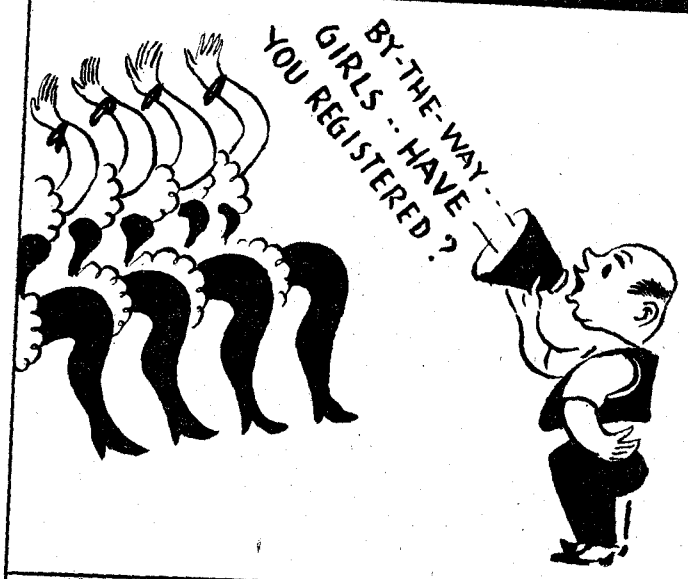

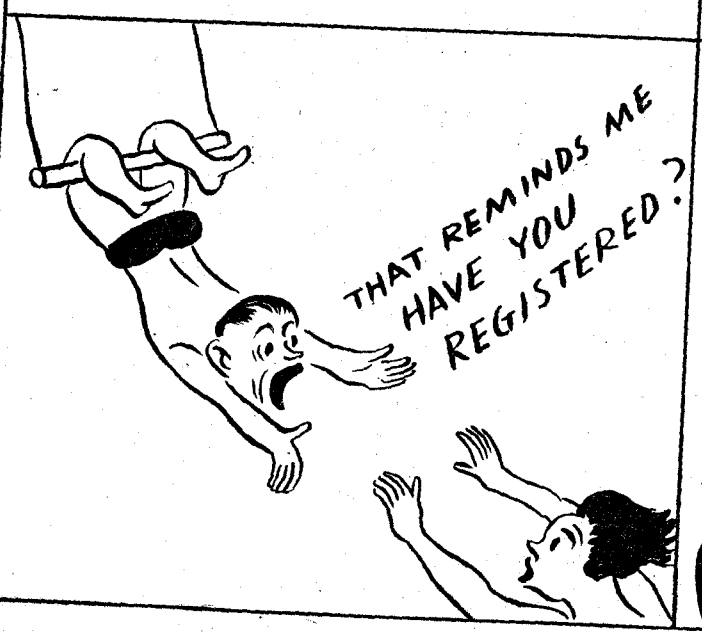

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omy of the imperial countries. This in turn can be achieved only through internation collaboration as envisaged at the Teheran and Cairo conferences, and a worldwide planned reconstruction and industrialization of the economically backward countries in which the highly industrialized countries can play their rightful roles without fear of cutthroat competition among themselves.

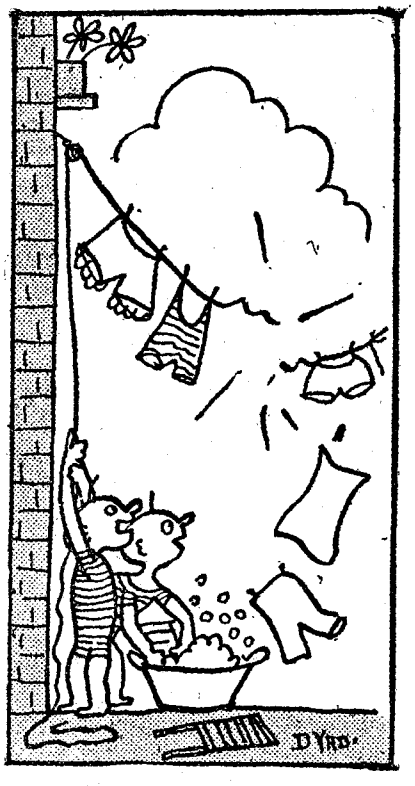
The United States has to take the lead in such a planned world economic relationship, since she will emerge from this war with gigantic industrial and financial resources. Her merchant shipping tonnage alone will be more than twice that of Britain. And until there emerges a planned world economic relationship which guarantees economic security to Britain, the British government will shift its excuses according to the strength of public pressure brought to bear upon it, but will never give up power over India.

ALREADY there are indications of the direction in which the government will go in the postwar period. Public opinion is becoming increasing aware of the fact that industrialization of the colonial countries, with its attendant rising standard of living and increased purchasing power of the colonial peoples, is absolutely necessary both for the benefit of these peoples and in order to maintain the economy of such highly industrialized countries as the United States. The British government is not unaware of this rising tide of sentiment for industrialization among the peoples of the world. Giving lack of unanimity as an excuse to keep India in bondage, the government will nevertheless generously offer to industrialize India. In fact, in the House of Commons recently it was argued that economic development of India must precede independence. This is, of course, a preposterous idea.

If the benefits of industrialization are to reach the vast population of India as well as the Americans and the British, who will need greatly expanded foreign markets for surplus goods and investments, such industrialization must take place at a very rapid rate. Such a fast pace can be set only by national planning, which requires an independent, democratic government. It has been clearly demonstrated both in the United States and in Great Britain that the rapid increase in production required by the necessities of war could be carried out only under democratic government planning and supervision. In India, it was not the British government, but the democratic National Congress, which set up a National Planning Committee in 1938. Its voluminous reports dealt with production, distribution, consumption, investment, trade, income, social security, minimum wage, and many other factors which act and react on each other.

The overwhelming majority of the people of India are farmers by occupation, tilling minute patches of land in an attempt to eke out a meager living. One of the basic problems to be met in India is a thorough overhauling of the system of land tenure and improvement of agricultural methods. The National Planning Committee recognized this necessity; they realized that the Indian peasant is the customer, client, and ultimate market for the industrial goods that will be produced, and that he will determine whether industrialization will succeed or not.

The British government has completely ignored the National Planning Committee reports. It has not dared touch the vested landlord interests, even in the course of the present famine. Its offer of future industrialization of India will boil down to such ventures as the building of more roads, as has already been hinted, according to recent news from India. The precondition for genuine industrialization is set down thus by Jawaharlal Nehru, in the first volume of the Planning Committee's reports:



"Quick, Alfie, the old Siegfried's busted," from "Our War Babies," a feature of the London *Daily Worker*.

"It is clear that the drawing up of a comprehensive national plan becomes merely an academic exercise, with no relation to reality, unless the planning authority is in a position to give effect to that plan. An essential prerequisite of planning is thus complete freedom and independence for the country and the removal of all external control."

It is well to recognize before it is too late that the very nature of the war we are fighting has generated in the hearts of all the exploited peoples of the earth a great yearning for freedom and democracy, an indomitable desire to create a better life for themselves. If these peoples, Indians included, fail to find a peaceful road to freedom, they will inevitably resort to violence. Even the conservative London *Observer*, in urging consideration of Gandhi's offer, commented that "the fact that some kind of revolution, maybe violent and certainly confused, is the only alternative, provides the best and unchallengeable case for a last bold attempt along these lines." And even Gandhi was sensitive enough to public feeling to detect the note of militancy in the voice of the people. "It is crystal clear," he observed recently, "that the British government is not prepared to give up power over the Indian millions unless the latter develop the strength to wrest it from them." A Britain with her empire in flames would hardly be in a position to contribute harmonious collaboration to the United Nations in the postwar world.

The times call for bold and imaginative action. America can take the lead in offering a plan of world economic relations that will eliminate the British fear of American competition for the world market. But Britain cannot relieve herself of all responsibility by merely saying "let Uncle Sam do it." It is up to her to discard the phony arguments of Indian disunity and treaties with the princes, and the pretense that the Cripps proposals contained a genuine offer of freedom to India. Let Britain be bold enough to present her dilemma to the world with honesty and some justification, and declare her willingness to cooperate in the creation of a world order of freedom, security, and peace. And as an earnest of her good faith, let her release the Indian Congress leaders, and cooperate in the formation of a responsible national government in India now.

Mr. Goshal is the author of "The People of India."

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MINNESOTA'S UNHOLY TWINS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

REPORTS from the Minnesota Political Action Committee which have reached Washington indicate not only that the Dewey support in Minnesota has been greatly shaken by the recent statements of Sen. Joseph Ball (R., Minn.) but that the remarkably bad Minnesota delegation in the House now faces somewhat stiffer odds in November.

Ball's statement that he couldn't support Dewey and his previous call for defeat of eight Republican and three Democratic isolationist Senators doubtless are a bid for support of Comdr. Harold Stassen for the presidency in 1948. However that may be, the effect is wholesome, and the split between the isolationist-defeatist forces led by National Committeeman Roy Dunn and the Stassen forces headed by Gov. Edward Thye and Ball may put the state in the FDR camp. In the latest Crossley poll it was considered a tie state, as between Dewey and Roosevelt.

Chances of defeating the renegade Farmer-Laborite Hagen, in the ninth district, and the Republican Pittinger in the eighth, are best. Unfortunately the chances are slim that the split will affect the reelection of that hoary champion of all that is most backward in the House, Rep. Harold Knutson. (Knutson, publisher of the Wadena *Pioneer Journal*, has been in Congress twenty-six years.) But the prospect of its contributing to the opposition to another stalwart of GOP reaction, Rep. August Herman Andresen, is a happy one. And it will not help Rep. Melvin J. Maas of St. Paul, although he seems more firmly entrenched. I saw both Andresen and Maas before they returned to campaign at home. If Mr. Andresen's preoccupation with his new role as the voice of labor is any indication, he is not a very cheerful man these days. He may be actually worried, although he stoutly insists he's not.

But whatever the worries of the inner man—and I suppose that even the hard-bitten Mr. Andresen has an inner life—he is far more amenable outwardly than usual. That is the impressive thing. For Mr. Andresen normally is one of the most unpleasant characters in the House. A lean, angular man, with a sallow face and mouth drawn down in lines of perpetual gloom, he is haunted by the evil doings of the Roosevelt administration, and it is hard to think what he was like before 1932—the only year, incidentally, in which he was defeated in his term of twenty years. Doubtless, however, he had some other motive for living before then—he could not have acquired such a deeply bilious outlook on life in twelve years alone.

Having heard him in the House Agriculture Committee and more lately in the Campaign Expenditures Committee when he went to work on a witness, imagine how upsetting it was, then, to spend an hour with a changed Mr. Andresen. I can report that encountering Mr. Andresen in an expansive mood, in which he is trying to come close to the people, is a pretty formidable experience.

"Possibly I don't have to explain to you," he said flatteringly, intimating he and I understood, "but do you know what's wrong with the world? A few people at the top control all the resources and money, and the wealth just doesn't reach down to the masses." He sat back and I looked enraptured and he went on. He told me about India. It seems there is a great deal of wealth in India, but that the East India Company "and the princes and the potentates" control it and that there are lots of people in India who are hungry.

There was more like this but when I breathed, "Sounds to me like you're quite a radical, Congressman," he modestly accepted this as his due and did not reply.

Inasmuch as he had been his usual bitter self in some remarks about PAC, I asked what was behind their opposition to him and support of Candidate Mildoll, who is on the Democrat-Farmer Labor ticket. "They just couldn't control me," he said darkly.

JUST as Sen. Gerald Nye's (R., N.D.) campaign in the primary, which he came close to losing, was aided by the endorsement of Pres. William Green of the AFL, so is Andresen's. He produced a letter from Green which said in part, "Your legislative record on measures of interest to labor proves that you have consistently supported measures sponsored and approved by the AFL," and says he is requesting the AFL in his district to support him at the polls. Green in this case was willing to overlook his voting for the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, he explained when pressed on the point. The AFL had declared it would try to defeat every Congressman who voted for the bill. But Andresen didn't let it go at that. He explained his vote. "I didn't vote for it because I'm against labor. As you see, there have been more strikes since the bill was passed—it gave 'em a chance to strike." Which is just what the CIO—and the AFL—contended before it passed: that it was a bad bill because it would increase strikes. But this point escapes Mr. Andresen.

Actually, voting for the Smith-Connally act is only one of a long line of moves on Andresen's part which have distinguished him as a reactionary. The fact that Andresen once belonged to two AFL unions, the Clerks and the Musicians ("I played every instrument in the band," he said modestly), did not prevent his taking a leading part in knifing OPA. He authored a series of amendments which would raise prices, one of which passed—the removal of the higher price line limitation. One amendment would have thrown many OPA enforcement cases into the lower courts. Another would have had one price ceiling for all wholesale outlets, disregarding the classes of stores OPA set up for retailers. Although his district, the extreme southeastern corner of Minnesota, is principally agricultural, the Congressman from Red Wing has been more faithful to the dairy trust than to the farmers. He voted against the Wheeler-Jones farm bill and the Fulmer farm debt adjustment bill of 1941, over which such furious war was waged. The farm lobby in general pretended to be for it, but introduced about 200 amendments. Andresen, less subtle, was just against it. More recently he voted wrong on crop insurance, incentive payments, and soil conservation. He did vote right on rural electrification.

Hear Mr. Andresen on the subject of Mr. Andresen, however. He spoke of his "quite liberal viewpoint." It seems that in 1930 he voted against the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill "although I'm considered a good Republican." This masterpiece of understatement was followed by the information that he was a protectionist nevertheless and that

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"American labor shouldn't compete with that of other countries." I asked him, as a monetary expert (he's on the Coinage, Weights, and Measures Committee) what he thought about the Bretton Woods proposals. "Well, if you can tell me what they're doin' down there," he began. It seems that he had it confused with "that secret conferenee in Dumbarton Oaks." I was willing to talk about Dumbarton Oaks, but instead he began justifying his own pre-Pearl Harbor isolationist record. This he did by (1) hinting that the Campaign Expenditures Committee was going to investigate the Union for Democratic Action and others "who tried to purge a good many strong internationalists in the last election," and (2) claiming that Congress was not getting "the information Roosevelt's diplomatic staff got." Yes, he went on darkly, "he" should have known what was going on, "and you know we have a lot of facts about Pearl Harbor." All about him were littered papers, and he had been hard at work on a speech when I came in, he said. He grabbed one paper, waved it and said that he had just been going over Roosevelt's "quarantine the aggressor" speech and found that only a few lines of it were devoted to that subject and that most of it was about bridges and other things. I said I thought it was made at the dedication of a bridge in Chicago. A few days later when I was interviewing Clare Luce she made a similar point—that only a few words of that speech said anything about quarantining the aggressor. I remarked they were pretty powerful words and she wanted to know why Roosevelt hadn't followed them up. These Republican Congressmen seem to go to school to the same teacher.

REPRESENTATIVE MAAS is the leading "Pacific war first" exponent in the House. He is what might be called the volatile type. He used to be in the insurance business in St. Paul but he would have been wasted there—he is much too dynamic for so sober a business. When he switches his animated bulk from one side of his chair to another in the House Naval Affairs Committee, where he is the leading minority member, and takes over a witness for questioning, his questions are apt to be so dynamic they amount to tirades. He was easily the most violent member of the committee on the subject of absenteeism in war plants, and the most anxious to find that the Guadalcanal smear story aimed at the National Maritime Union, in the Akron, Ohio, *Beacon-Journal,* was not a hoax but the truth about the NMU. In this, however, he was disappointed, and the committee adopted Rep. Warren Magnuson's subcommittee's report, which could have been stronger and probably would have been, save for Maas and a few others.

But Maas saves his bitterest ire for our ally England. It is then, with his big cigar rolling from one corner of his mouth to the other, and words pouring with equal venom out of either corner, that the colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve is his most dynamic self.

"I'm an international nationalist," he said, his smoky blue eyes acquiring a dreamy look, the bulge on his neck reddening. "I want an American empire like we had in the Philippines. No exploitation, you understand—but giving the people there a right to develop their purchasing power by developing themselves. We have no market in Europe. Our market is in the Orient. If we knock Japan out quickly, then on a basis of partnership, not imperialism, we go into China—with our inventive genius, our wealth of gold reserves to establish credits, our merchant marine the greatest in the world, with American management and Chinese resources and manpower, we can develop China, establish industrial wages there, stabilize a great market and keep American workers employed at high wages for several hundred years."

I said I thought that was very fine, and of course American industry and government would have to work out some way of guaranteeing certain markets to the British, or else wouldn't they erect walls around their colonies, enter into deals with other countries, etc.? In other words, we couldn't just go out to grab markets or with our advantage in shipping and resources we'd push Britain to the wall.

"Oh, push 'em to the wall," he said, with an anticipatory grin which had an obscene quality. "Push 'em—they pushed us to the wall. Then yelled for help for us to fight their war. Where would they be now if it wasn't for us? They were losing all over the world when we went in the war."

It takes considerable nerve to say, as he did when I began questioning him about the need for decent reconversion legislation:

"I'm afraid the sudden relaxing of production controls means either the administration doesn't intend to prosecute

(*Continued on page* 24)

A WASHINGTON friend sent us the following poem, which seems to be going the rounds down there:

Had I Her Gift

Had I her gift for smart abuse,
I'd dish it out to Clare Boothe Luce,

This plastic blonde, by me despised,
Who's been Republicanonized.

When she appears, men pant and drool,
But women manage to keep cool.

Ah, sisters, what a cross we tote!
Was it for this we got the vote?

That now we have to writhe and cuss
To hear HER *speaking up for* US?

Oh where's the silencer to shut up
This glamorous Connecticut-up?

Her quips so sharp, her cracks so vain,
Would not be noted, were she plain;

Her world-wide views, were she but frowzy,
Would be considered Globa-lousy;

Here—wait a minute. Why should I
Compete with her to vilify?

Why should I aim this clumsy noose
About the throat of Sister Luce?

Oh well, it's only fair to say
I'm forty-eight if I'm a day.

I am no blonde, nor am I svelte,
But broad my beam and wide my belt;

My accent's Middle-west, and flat,
I'm going 'round in last year's hat—

Oh hell, I'll be a Democrat!

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PACIFIC SCOTTSBORO

By MARJORIE DE ARMAND

We both wish to assure you that in spite of our involvement and consequent suffering through this trouble, there is no rancor or malice in our hearts because of it. We are just as eager to contribute our bit in this war as we were on the day of our enlistment. We love our country and our people and fervently wish to resume our life as honorable soldiers.—Private Frank Fisher, Jr., Private Edward R. Loury, in a letter to President Roosevelt.

ON JUNE 15, 1943, at Noumea, New Caledonia, two Negro soldiers in the Army of the United States were convicted of rape, by courtmartial. They were sentenced to life imprisonment and returned to their own country, where they are serving time in the federal penitentiary at Fort McNeil, Washington.

Frank Fisher, Jr., enlisted voluntarily in the Army in September 1942; Edward R. Loury, several months later. They were nineteen and twenty. Returning to their New Caledonia camp after a carnival in town one night they encountered a white officer with a woman, coming from the bushes in an area known to soldiers as "Prostitutes' Hill." They all stopped and talked for a moment, bargaining, after which the woman willingly went with the three men to a secluded spot off the road. There she had relations with each of them, making no protest or attempt to call for the help of several passersby. Afterward, she was paid by the Negro soldiers for her favors, and they left. (Her chief complaint in the court testimony was that they neglected to say "*Bon soir.*") The white officer, Lieut. Robert L. Engels, who thought he might have been seen by the few people passing, and possibly recognized, drove immediately to military police headquarters with the woman. A charge of rape against the two Negroes followed.

The investigating officer, examining the evidence, reported that it did not constitute rape, but his recommendation was ignored and the evidence withheld from the courtmartial. The prisoners, threatened with firearms, were grilled for five days with only a few hours' sleep. Victims of flagrant third degree, they finally signed statements later used against them, and were tried separately. Neither was permitted to tell the court of the "rubber hose" methods to which they were subjected. Although the usual custom of a military court is to take into consideration the legal penalty for any offense in the territory where it is committed—and the laws of New Caledonia provide a maximum of twenty years for rape—the sentence was life imprisonment.

SICK-SPIRITED and hopeless, the two Negro youths began the long trip home—to windows with bars, to disgrace, a life of inactivity when their country was at war—a war in whose purpose they believed, had felt so deeply that they volunteered their services. What did they think about through those tedious hours on the boat? Early days perhaps—poverty-scarred years, shifts from one relative to another, no environment permanent enough to give a child any notion of security. Maybe they remembered the orphanage; the frequent treks from South to North and back again; the Jim Crow which had beaten them over and over, but never as hard as this time; the little jobs they'd been able to get—houseboy, chauffeur, bootblack. The war, their feeling about it, enlisting, pride and love for their families. Fisher's wife and two children, his eighty-four-year-old grandmother in

Eugene Larkin

Texarkana, Ark., Loury's pleasure that his allotment check was sending his sister to college—something he had never been able to do for himself.

One night they talked to another soldier on board, told their story. "What can we do?" they asked. "Out there, nine thousand miles off, there was nobody to call friend, but at home there's got to be somebody who'll help."

The soldier thought there was. He told Loury and Fisher about the International Labor Defense and Rep. Vito Marcantonio, its president. They talked for a long time about the cases of injustice which the organization had fought successfully. He wrote down the address for them.

After a complete investigation the ILD took the case. In cooperation with William H. Hastie, dean of law at Howard University and member of the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Marcantonio represented the prisoners as legal counsel before the War Department. Afterward a complete brief was submitted, appealing for clemency—unconditional pardon and return to the Army. Meanwhile, letters came —from Texarkana, about Private Fisher—from the minister of his church, from a woman whose vegetable garden he had tended, a friend of his grandmother's, businessmen, all sorts of people, black and white, in the little city. The thought was unanimous, not said exactly the same way, but always: "Frank's a good, honest boy. What's he done? I don't believe it's anything wrong. What can I do to help?" And from Winnetka, Ill., Loury's home, there were more like it. The tight, cold phrases of a case history report from the Cook County Welfare Society told the story of a boy uprooted early, a youngster with deep family loyalty, who had turned over his meager paychecks gladly, so that they could keep going—those members of his family who were left. He had lived from Kentucky to Indiana to Illinois in his short years, had a childhood different from that time many people remember as happy and careless—different, because his skin was a different color.

Last March the War Department acted on the applications for clem-

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ency. Fisher's sentence was reduced to ten years; Loury's to eight. Undersecretary of War Patterson made it clear that the prisoners were still considered guilty of rape—clemency was granted because of their youth and lack of educational opportunity.

EIGHT years, ten years, for a crime which all evidence shows they had never committed! Mr. Marcantonio and Dean Hastie have placed their appeal for an unconditional pardon before President Roosevelt. More than a thousand ministers, educators, artists, writers, actors —people and organizations of all professions—endorsed the appeal, realizing that this case is something more than the unjust sentencing of two boys to prison. They know that it is a violation of the principle of equality under law, feel its danger everywhere, in both military and civil courts.

For there is no doubt that had these two soldiers been white, they would not even have been tried. Lieutenant Engels, the officer involved, was deprived of his commission and "discharged from service under conditions other than honorable." But an officer, under military law, can be discharged for reasons which do not apply to an enlisted man. Also, no charge of rape was brought against Engels. "Conduct unbecoming an officer" still leaves him all the privileges of a civilian and is quite different from a penitentiary sentence and dishonorable discharge. Something about a dark skin made the difference between commerce and rape.

The one-tenth of our population which is Negro fights beside all other Americans. They cannot go on at full capacity, now when there is most need for it, if they live in the darkness of a fear that abroad or at home, a court may sentence their brothers, or husbands, or sons, for one reason only—because they are black. If they fear now, what must they dread from the postwar world?

THE case is in the hands of President Roosevelt. Reduction of the two sentences, as handed down by the War Department, would seem to show a tug-of-war between the white supremacists, determined to deprive Negroes of everything, including a right to participation in the war, and those who saw justice, and tried to fight through. In the meantime, without bitterness, with confidence, Loury and Fisher wait in Ft. McNeil Penitentiary. They write to Marcantonio: "Success in your battles with the likes of Rankin, Jones, and Cotton Ed over the liberal measures you are so famous for sponsoring. . . . We read about you and your wonderful work every night when the paper comes. . . . The prison officials have acted favorably on our applications to be employed in the prison industries. We are both working in the cannery, for which we are paid about twelve dollars a month. The prison maintains a school and we are in attendance, trying to improve ourselves by studying English and mathematics, and we hope soon to be able to enroll in the Diesel engine or radio class. There is also a library and we are reading and trying to understand some good books. In addition to that, we have learned more through discussions with others that know something about politics and movements than we ever knew before."

Every letter they have written—and there are many—repeats one theme: We want to get back to the Army. That's where we belong in this war and that's where we ought to be.

V-Day should be a time for unqualified rejoicing. But it won't be, if symbols of injustice still exist—if Loury and Fisher are still in Ft. McNeil. They ought to see that day from the front lines with their uniformed comrades, winding up at the finish.

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BATTLELINES IN TENNESSEE

By HAROLD PREECE

Mr. Preece is co-author of "Lighting up Liberia" with Arthur I. Hayman, and of the forthcoming "Dew on Jordan," with his wife, Celia Kraft. Mr. Preece conducts a weekly column on the South in the Chicago "Defender."

Memphis, Tenn.

Boss Ed Crump of Memphis, Tennessee, didn't attend the Democratic national convention in Chicago. Corporal Arthur Hollins, from the same town, wasn't there either. But his reasons for staying away were different from Boss Ed's.

Boss Ed was dodging a process server who would have descended upon him, in the impartial course of "damyankee" justice, had he parked his twelve-dollar brogans on Michigan Boulevard. One of Crump's victims—a Negro ex-citizen of Memphis now living in Chicago—has a damage suit in Illinois federal court against the man who's turned Tennessee into his political plantation by letting a string of local bosses like Ducktown Sheriff Burch Biggs sharecrop it for him. So the Big Boss stayed home and listened to the returns of the convention balloting over the same radio which brings him the latest flashes on the Hot Springs horse races.

Corporal Arthur Hollins wasn't dodging constables when the "Southern revolt" fizzled and popped in Chicago like the toy balloons Arthur used to buy his girl at the carnivals on Beale Street. The young Negro soldier was dodging bullets in this war. Right after the convention, Corporal Hollins wrote me a letter which reflects the mind of Tennessee.

"I listened with some buddies from Memphis to the convention broadcasts," wrote Corporal Hollins. "We got a part of the broadcasts over the shortwave radio while we rested between battles.

"How we wished we might have been there when the Tennessee delegates made their big threats to bolt our President. Us boys from Memphis would have told those Crump men that you don't walk out on your commander when there's a war going on. How we wished that we could have been there when Crump disgraced what we're fighting for by putting up his straw boss, Governor Prentice Cooper, for Vice-President. Ed Crump and Prentice Cooper are keeping most of us Tennessee boys from voting this year. . . .

"Some things I can say, and some things I can't. But I know if Ed Crump had slept in a hole for weeks, if he had been eating the same thing every day, he would know that we have a war to win, and that we can't view politics as he and some other people do."

As I wander over the 400-mile length and 100-mile width of our state, I find Tennesseans in village post-offices and crossroads stores talking pretty much the same language as this Tennessean in a foxhole. Whether we went across to man cannon for victory or whether we stayed home to raise turnips for victory, we feel that the present political leadership of our state is inadequate for the new experiences that we face in this new epoch of history which began for all of Dixie with the coming of Franklin D. Roosevelt. That epoch began with tent colonies of ragged, hungry people on the outskirts of our four major cities—Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Nashville. It is closing with thousands of our people—honest, good folk from the mountain ranges of the Cumberlands and Great Smokies, from the sultry villages of the Mississippi Delta—drawing good wages from the great new factories that have come our way as a result of the government-owned Tennessee Valley Authority. We feel now that we are entering another epoch—the second epoch of Roosevelt—forecast by a white Tennessee soldier, Pfc. Carey Scraggs, when he wrote back to the weekly paper in his Cumberland Mountain home community:

"Why worry over the political situation—the 'Old Man' will come back for the fourth term without a doubt. He gave the GI Joe and his dependents what no other President did. What objection would they have to voting for him again?

"I am particularly interested in the various little affairs and group meetings that are being held there. [Meaning the rallies for Roosevelt and Truman in his home community.] I wish that I were there to participate, even though I don't carry much weight. The war will soon be over, you may rest assured. We have plenty to come back to."

Then Pfc. Scraggs throws out this challenge to those northern Republicans and southern Democrats who would stop the assembly lines to bring about post-war depression and turmoil: "This is a land of plenty, isn't it?"

There are minutes when we catch

Prescriptions for Liberation

AN INTERESTING item which came to the attention of a doctor-reader of NM concerned the way in which many French physicians helped prevent the deportation of Frenchmen to German factories. The doctors used every means available to give artificial mild illnesses to workers before they were rounded up for slave labor. Jaundice was induced by injection. The illness did not last long but looked serious. Not everyone in France could fall victim to jaundice, however, so the doctors next tried injections of oil which caused inflammation of the knee. This worked too well—with many unfortunately not recovering full use of their joints. Bismuth, which caused spots on the lungs, was very useful because it created the impression of tuberculosis which the Germans really feared. Another trick was the injection of extract of arsenic, which caused temporary uremia. Thus doctors contributed their share of work in the resistance movement. Throughout the Nazi occupation they published their own underground paper, *Le Medecin Francais*. But in addition to that physicians worked closely with the liberation forces and had three central objectives: (1) to protect the health of the civilian population; (2) to organize medical units to serve in action at the time of the national uprising; and (3) to defend the medical profession.

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ourselves wondering why it was that we never thought of Tennessee as a land of plenty before Roosevelt took over in 1933. For it *was* a land of plenty—its forests filled with deer and wild turkey—when our fathers crossed the mountains with Daniel Boone, when the civilization of the Eastern Seaboard moved westward to follow the curling smoke from cabins built by my old grandad, Captain John Phillips, and others like him.

But slavery left the indelible marks of cotton, sharecropping, and color line on the lives of every generation, down to this one of three million people. Not all of Tennessee is cotton country. But it is no accident that Memphis, one of the South's great cotton cities and seat of the all-powerful National Cotton Council, should dominate not only Tennessee but large sections of adjoining Arkansas and Mississippi. Nor is it any accident that the children of Daniel Boone and Andrew Jackson, seeing the rape of their heritage, should still hope for a land of milk and honey—but one to be found after death in the theologies of brush-arbor religious sects like the Last Days Church of God, the Original Church of God, the New Testament Church of God, the Reformation Movement Church of God, the Non-Progressive Church of Christ, and the Two Seed in the Spirit Predestinarian Baptist Church.

Maybe we prosecuted the famous Dayton, Tennessee, evolution case so fiercely in 1925 because we hated to be told that we were descended from monkeys when we had been made to look like monkeys. Maybe, it's a sign of changing times, too, that the prosecuting attorney in that case has dropped zoology for something of more immediate benefit to his people. He is now US Sen. Tom Stewart, who has shown enough courage to break with his greedy, senile seventy-five-year-old colleague, Kenneth D. McKellar, and support many of President Roosevelt's measures. He is sponsoring a bill to give our state, with its pig-trails and rocky country roads, a network of highways which would enable our farmers to move their produce to market. That means a lot to a state where two-thirds of the population is rural.

Tennessee will stay in the Union by voting for President Roosevelt on November 7. Even though Colonel McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* is reported to be spending a sizable sum to promote the fortunes of Dewey in this state, which normally casts the heaviest Republican vote in the South, Tennessee will vote for Roosevelt because the President has made Tennessee and every other southern state feel as though it belongs in the Union.

For the South has been taking short-cuts across centuries in these eleven years of Roosevelt. Tennessee has become a microcosm of the changing South, with its busy aluminum and textile plants, with its husky young labor movement, the expression of a sturdy young class just beginning to make itself felt in our coves and cities.

The Roosevelt administration gave us Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA has brought us lights for our homes, fertilizer for our farms, the feeling that the South can grow. Three-fourths of the electrical power for the South's tremendous war production comes from TVA units distributed over seven states. The rough outlines of a southern people's coalition were apparent in the fight which we put up last year to keep Tennessee Senator Kenneth McKellar from annexing TVA and turning it into his private patronage dispensary. Labor unions and chambers of commerce, farmers' cooperatives and city councils, joined in a spontaneous and united campaign to save the giant project.

THE TVA brought us industry. Industry has brought us the modern labor movement; a movement which will grow as industry grows. The labor movement is the force which will unite workers, farmers, industrialists, and retailers along that road of Teheran which is the road to the South's future. Tennessee labor is taking steps to set up a permanent people's political organization which will function between now and November for the reelection of President Roosevelt. It will function in the years to come for the election of those who can speak for the age of the schoolhouse and the dynamo instead of this dying age of the whip and the bull tongue plow.

Originally, the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods set up a joint state political action committee, the outgrowth of joint action of their different legislative committees during the 1943 session of the Tennessee legislature. By working together, these committees had defeated all of the anti-labor legislation which Texas Senator "Pappy" O'Daniel's "Christian Americans" later railroaded through the legislatures of Alabama, Florida, and seven other states. But the grand prize of united action had been a bill, passed by the legislature and reluctantly signed by Governor Cooper, abolishing the poll tax as a qualification for voting in Tennessee.

A few months later, the Crump-controlled state Supreme Court declared the poll tax repeal law "unconstitutional" in a suit brought by Crump's Middle Tennessee gauleiter, Sheriff Birch Biggs. Some of you may remember Birch Biggs as the man who was slapped down by the United States Supreme Court after he secured third-degree "confessions" from eight Ducktown miners, who have since been acquitted on charges of dynamiting power lines.

Unfortunately for Tennessee, AFL President William Green forced the State Federation of Labor to withdraw from the united political front. One of the Brotherhoods also pulled out, leaving the CIO to carry the burden of progressive political action by itself.

Let it be said that the CIO has proved equal to the task of initiating a broad people's movement in Tennessee, as it has in other parts of the South. A few weeks ago, I attended an emergency session of the Tennessee CIO Industrial Union Council held at Highlander Folk School near Monteagle. The delegates from all parts of the state knew that they faced serious business, that Boss Crump certainly would put on no more than a half-hearted campaign for the reelection of President Roosevelt. They knew that labor still had a big job to face in this campaign. For Tennessee's common people are pretty much like Pfc. Scraggs—they take it for granted that a good man like President Roosevelt will be elected anyhow. "People are saying to us that President Roosevelt is sure to carry Tennessee since both the CIO and Boss Crump have endorsed him," explained regional CIO director Paul R. Christopher.

Those delegates, representing Tennessee's 70,000 white and Negro CIO members, realize that Crump and the other Dixie bosses have jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon only in the hopes of steering it back down the path of yesterday. They were determined that the people's victory should not be whittled down to the size of a minority poll tax vote.

They made plans for an all-out campaign to get poll taxes paid and voters registered in time. They set up a five-man board, with Christopher as chairman, to organize a Tennessee Citizens Political Action Committee, affiliated with the National Citizens Political Action Committee. This state committee will set up local branches, to be serviced by area representatives, in the four sec-

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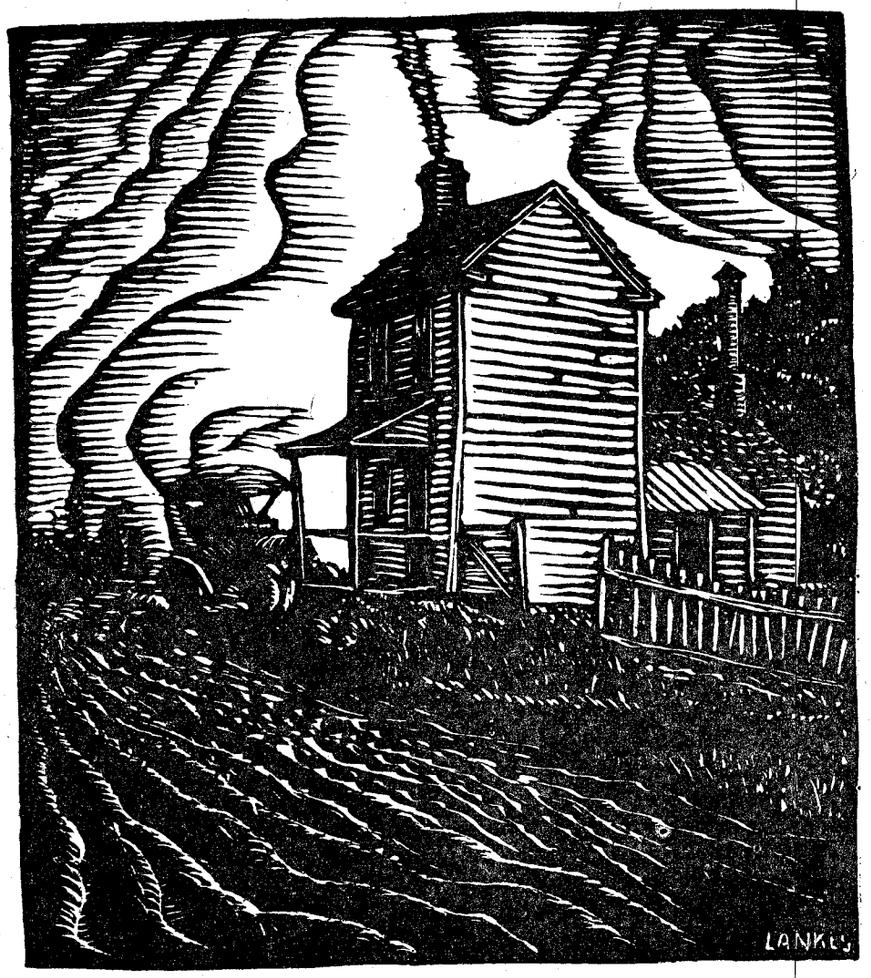

"Virginia Landscape," woodcut by J. J. Lankes

tions dependent on the four cities of Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Nashville. We are laying a solid basis that will give Corporal Hollins and Pfc. Scraggs something "to come back to."

The time is ripe in Tennessee, as ripe as it was in the days when the frontiersmen who were our fathers sent Andy Jackson up to Washington as our Senator and then as our President. The way our people voted in the August primaries proves it.

Two of our three definitely pro-Roosevelt Congressmen won hands down in the face of strong opposition from the Crump forces. Congressman Albert Gore, of Carthage, representing the Fourth District, polled a handsome majority after a slander campaign against him; Congressman J. Percy Priest, of the Sixth (Nashville) District, once represented by Jackson, carried the field even though Crump's state highway police, commanded by Safety Director Lynn Bomar, marshalled themselves with guns at the polls and tried to bully citizens into voting for Priest's "states' rights" opponent.

Congressman Estes Kefauver of the Third (Chattanooga) District, who won renomination without opposition in a district where the Democratic designation is equivalent to election told me emphatically: "President Roosevelt represents the best hope of the southern people for continued progress—for industrialization, for bringing our educational and economic standards up to par, for bringing about a reduction of the discriminatory freight rates which prevent our industrialists and farmers from selling their goods on a fair market.

"The South has many problems that it's going to have to think about very seriously," the Congressman continued. "One of them is the problem of our relation to the Negro. We are going to have to give the Negro a chance to become a better citizen by giving him better education, health, and housing; by giving him a chance to vote. It's to the interests of the South and of our country to make the best possible citizens of all of the people."

To expand industries, to organize all of our people into the new people's movement—that is the combined job to which we have committed ourselves in this, the sixth generation since Andrew Jackson. It's a job that is hampered by the traditionally Republican majority of East Tennessee. It's made doubly difficult by the fact that Boss Crump has been able to swing every state Democratic primary election through the simple expedient of holding back the returns from Memphis and Shelby County until he saw how the rest of the state was going.

It's a job as hard as the one faced by our fathers when they felled the thickets and cleared the brush to plow the first fields from the resisting, uncultivated soil. But it's a job that's made easier because the Tennessee labor movement is different from agrarian movements of the past. Those movements were built upon farmers who distrusted the city and the city's ways, who were individualists in their thinking because they were individualists in their manner of making a living. The ever-expanding Tennessee labor movement is based upon wage workers who have not lost contact with the soil because they, themselves, were born on the soil. It is highly significant that both the Tennessee AFL and CIO have interested themselves in organizing the National Farmers Union in this state. Another example of the broad base that we are building for our people's movement is the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Nashville. The Southern Conference, supported by labor generally, speaks for the progressive element of the middle class, not only in Tennessee but throughout Dixie.

Today, there are some mighty sick politicians among the Dixie Old Guard. There's nobody any sicker among them than that arch foe of everything the New Deal and the New South represent —Senator McKellar of Tennessee.

Two years from now, most of the three hundred thousand young Tennesseans in the armed forces will be back with their families. They will be remembering how their senior Senator robbed the majority of them of their ballots when he railroaded through his "states' rights" substitute for the original Green-Lucas Soldier Vote Bill. Fifty thousand of them managed to qualify for the franchise under a state "soldier vote act," passed by the Crump-McKellar-Crump trinity of the poll tax to keep the boys and girls from casting their ballots.

Two years from now most of the boys and girls will be home. And two years from now, Senator Kenneth D. McKellar comes up for reelection.

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IN THE WHITE WHALE'S DOMAIN

By S/SGT. LAWRENCE EMERY

We are glad to publish the following excerpts from a journal by Sergeant Emery sent in by his wife in response to NEW MASSES' *request for letters from soldiers.* —*The Editors.*

WHEN I woke up we were at sea, running into a good blow and some heavy seas. The ship pitched and rocked creditably and seasickness became quite widespread. The boys are being sorted out. . . .

A beautiful night. The wind is down to a fresh breeze, cooling and pleasant. A huge full moon, still high at four o'clock, has paled all the stars, leaving visible only those of the brightest magnitude. Its soft and gentle glow brightens the horizon all the way round, and dapples the sea with dancing lights. "God, it's wonderful out tonight," said the man I relieved as I climbed into the tub. "If you've got any beautiful thoughts in your head, tonight's the night to think them. I've had a swell time up here. Been home most of the night. Don't even feel like going to sleep." And I wondered what kind of a home he had that it could seem so pleasant from this distance, in the middle of the vast Pacific, bound for an uncertain fate. It is the old trickery of the mind, I decided, which tends to reject and conceal all the bad and the unpleasant, admitting to recall only the rare and the good. The human brain hides its own scars, for otherwise it would be an intolerable instrument of torture. This man is no exceptional being whose life has been all pleasure and no pain. But tonight, rummaging around in his memories, he found only the joy he's known. Under the bright moon, swaying to the gentle rocking of the ship, he forgot all the old dissatisfactions, all the petty frustrations of daily life, all the aches and fears and disappointments that were his lot at home, as they are the lot of all men—all but the tiny few who have learned, somehow, to live. Maybe it is better that the mind buries the ugly, displays only the good. Yet how much harder for this man when he does get home to find that his moon-bathed dreams were lop-sided, that the picture was incomplete and distorted, that all the worries and all the pain were left out. What then will be his reaction? Will he yearn again for the moon-dappled sea on a calm cool night far away? And I wondered if this might not be one of the attractions of the sea that has such a hold over some men. Or is it something deeper, like the exhilaration of the never-ending struggle of man against an element not his own? The ability of man, in a frail and tiny craft upon limitless seas, to go where he chooses upon this earth, and to get there despite wind and wave and storm and lightning. And added to this the simplicity and the mystery of the sea, at once so readily grasped and yet forever incomprehensible in its magnitude and its final meaning. For the sea is simple and clean and uncomplicated. Life on its surface is reduced to elementals. The sun, the moon, the stars, the clouds, and the winds are its ingredients, and absent are the crowds of cities and the web of entanglements in which city men are coiled. For the men who consciously and deliberately follow the sea for a lifetime, and who come ashore for brief periods to nibble a bit at the pleasures and comforts of land and then go back to their wind and spray, I guess the sea is essentially an escape. . . .

LAST night the Southern Cross was clear and sharp. It is something we cannot see at home. We're in the regions now where the dawn comes up, not exactly like Kipling's thunder, but with a sweep and a rush, floodlike. The sun goes down the same way; there is a sudden engulfing darkness and night is here. I prefer our own slow, lingering twilight, often the best part of the day. This is too sharp and abrupt. . . .

There was a high bright moon this morning, a gentle cool breeze, a softly rolling sea. Some day E and I must take a pleasure cruise to sea. . . . I sent my partner below this morning, stayed in the tub most of the watch alone. Found myself ranging far back in time, remembering the old popular songs and the associations that go with them. The old phonograph in 1920 in the Valmae apartments in San Francisco, and grandpa and grandma and Ethiel and Winton, and me with a whole fresh world to discover. Such tunes as "Blue" and "Tomorrow" and "Dardanella" and some of the war songs still being sung. And "Three O'clock In The Morning" which will forever remind me vaguely of a dance I went to and where I sat unacquainted and lonely. And later the songs like "Hot Lips" and "Aggravatin' Mama" and "Lovin' Sam." And then the Larkin Street days, when I bought a portable phonograph and such records as "All Alone" and "Somebody Loves Me," "I Cried For You." And the days downtown and the poolrooms, the cheap hotels, the gambling joints, the nights spent roaming the streets, the strange characters who sleep in the day and live during the dark. I was learning then, and still discovering the fresh new world, and the tunes were "Sweet Lovin' Mama, Won't You Please Come Back To Me," and "Oh How I Miss You Tonight," and "Sleep," and "Crying For You." And then I remembered "Beautiful Ohio," and that took me back to a matchless spring in the country, up in the foothills of the Sierras. I was ten or eleven and there never was and never will be a springtime like that one, all fresh and green, with bright sunny days when we went picking wild flowers, and the streams were running clear and full and this was the finest of all worlds and I was hopelessly and thrillingly in love for the first time in my life. And all that early year we sang "The Beautiful Ohio." . . . Then I remembered "Valencia" and "Barcelona" and "The Red, Red Robin," and these took me way back to the winter that I ran between Seattle and Honolulu and I stayed in the trouse in Kaimuki and charged around town in a big, red, noisy Stutz roadster. Those were the "go for broke" days, and I was still learning. There were more old songs I remembered, many, many more, and they all helped to date and punctuate the crazy, hectic past. . . . And then my watch was over, and I thought, what song would be tied most intimately between the immediate past and the immediate future, and I thought and thought, and decided I'd like most to sit together with E and listen to *Ma Mie*. . . .

Today I slept during King Neptune's ceremony, but from reports I've heard it was pretty rough.

And this afternoon we had a gun drill and abandon-ship drill. We fired at smoke pots we dropped into the sea and it was very satisfying to see projectiles from all the ship's guns hitting dead center. . . .

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We sighted our first sub tonight. It was near sunset and I was in my high tub. I happened to be watching the men on the bridge when they picked it up with their glasses. I looked and saw what was unmistakably a periscope knifing through the water and kicking up a sizable spray. The captain happened to be on the bridge; he immediately ordered the course changed ninety degrees to put the sub astern of us. It was sighted broad on the port beam, about a half mile off and traveling parallel to us in the same direction. The skipper also ordered more speed, and we kicked up several added knots. The periscope was submerged by now. I had my gun cover off and the gun swinging free before the signal for battle stations was sounded. The Navy crew moved with creditable speed and was strictly on the ball. But we had nothing to shoot at. My guess is that the sub detected us and came up for a look around without realizing how close we were. He was in no position to do us harm and must have been more scared than we were. In any case, he could not dream of touching us with our extra speed. We steered ——— most of the night, but went back on our course before morning. The incident gave most of the boys a bit of a scare; they'll talk about it for days and enlarge upon it so that the folks back home will get a grand version by the time the first letters get there. . . .

LAST night the sky was cloudless and there was no moon; it grew totally dark when the sun went down, but a faint lingering glow remained for hours over the horizon where it had dipped out of sight. . . . I've finished *Moby Dick*. Four years ago I bought a copy of the book, made three or four starts in it, but never managed to finish it. I'm glad now that I waited to read it at sea, and I finished it in almost exactly the same waters where man's doom overtook the *Pequod*. And it is easy to fancy that the great White Whale, that mighty unconquerable force against which men were impelled to break their hearts and their heads, still lords it over the measureless domains of the sea. For though the book was written one hundred years ago, these leviathans are believed to have a life-span that might reach across two centuries. At any rate, I would not be too surprised if, on some quiet watch over a calm sea, I should see the waters swell upwards to disclose the milk-colored back of that fiery murderous monster—with all the corroded harpoons and darts still sticking out of him like flag poles. I believe the book to be one of the greatest in American literature, and there are passages in it that will stand with anything in the English language. And it is as profound a study in psychology, of the urges and forces in man that will neither let him rest nor know peace, as any ever written. For Moby Dick, the White Whale, is the unattainable goal to which man, in his ultimate nobility, will forever aspire, and—if we believe with Melville —forever fail, even though he hold true to the chase into the gleaming monstrous jaws of disaster. But though he go down, man is the victor and the triumph is his, because his spirit was still unbroken even as his neck snapped and his banner was still being nailed again to the masthead as the last wave lapped over it. Captain Ahab is a mighty and awe-inspiring figure, he is man in the abstract, at his best and highest, and no force on earth nor in the deeps of the sea will ever break him. . . .

We've been having wonderful weather, days of silk, nights of soft velvet. But I've been to sea before and I know that underneath this languorous softness are the fangs and claws of tempests and storms. . . .

We ran into overcast skies today on the morning watch, with stinging squalls and a wind that held fresh all day. And tonight the sky was still all one cloud, the wind was singing in the rigging, spray was leaping from the tops of waves, and the foam was hissing angrily along the ship's sides. At four PM today we passed a small, hump-backed island. It was not far off, but it was so obscured by low clouds that we had to strain our eyes to make out its faint outline. None of us, of course, knows what it is. We are getting to the point in this trip now where we begin to think more of what's ahead of us than we do of what we've left behind. . . .

I've enjoyed myself on watch. My station is the highest on the ship, directly abaft the bridge and considerably higher, with a clear sweep of the sea in every direction. My head is almost on a level with the top of the king-posts, about forty feet or more above the water. There is only one higher spot: the crow's nest. I am alone up there and nobody bothers me or gets in my way. The four to eight watch is the best at sea, by far. In the old days it went to the senior men aboard, and it has traditionally been the first mate's watch. The day begins and ends on that watch; we see the sun come up and we watch it go down. We miss the heat of the mid-day, the monotonous darkness of midnight.

I never tire of watching the sea. Most men find it boring. It has no billboards, no hot-dog stands, no tourist cabins. But the oceans are the only portion of the earth's surface unchanged since man first looked upon them. I like to look out and know that I am seeing what the old Vikings saw; that I am seeing the same sight that met the anxious gaze of the Phoenicians, the old Portuguese, the Spaniards, the discoverers and the wanderers. There is a timelessness about the sea, an unchangeableness that cannot be felt on land. . . . Now the trip is almost over. It has been a long one, and in certain special ways to me not an unpleasant one. I've done a good deal of reading, mostly Shakespeare, and I've had time for plenty of reflection. I've not wasted my time. I haven't bothered much with wondering what's ahead. I'll take that as it comes, and whatever it is, I'm ready and prepared for it. I don't know how long I'll be over here; as I feel now, I would just as soon stick it out until it's over and wound up for good. Even that might not take too long from here on in. I'll consider myself lucky if I'm home within two years. But however long it takes, I know what I'm going back to, and I'll know that E is there waiting for me.

Eugene Karlin.

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MY VOTE—AND WHY

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

In order to promote discussion of the issues and candidates before the American people this November 7, NEW MASSES *invited a number of prominent citizens to participate in a symposium. The questions asked were: (1) Which candidate for President and Vice President are you supporting in this election? (2) What are your reasons for supporting this ticket?* NEW MASSES *published the first set of replies answering these questions October 3 and a second October 10. A number of additional replies follow.—The Editors.*

Robert W. Kenny

Attorney General of California

I AM supporting Roosevelt and Truman. There are numerous reasons, and it would take much space to state them all. I shall try to summarize.

I know where they stand. They have proved themselves capable of dealing constructively and concretely with the problems of our times.

The path of history took a turn in 1932. I think it is still the right path.

I have confidence in President Roosevelt's desire and ability to frame a peace which will justify our participation in the war.

America's part in the future will require a sense of internationalism. President Roosevelt has shown that he has this sense in all of its aspects, military, political, and humanitarian.

The errors of the present administration have not been errors of intention; where they have occurred they have in the main been errors of implementation.

The Republican candidates offer no tenable alternatives to President Roosevelt and Senator Truman.

Ben Field

Novelist

I SHALL certainly vote for Roosevelt and Truman.

In the camp of Dewey are the vultures and weasels, the men who speak with split tongues, the big Johns who betray the workers at every cockcrow, the bright boys who would sell America down the river for office. Here you have the native fascists, the lynchers, the Jew-baiters. In this camp you can find the apple-cheeked engineer and architect of Hoovervilles for the unemployed, the man who burned the veterans of the World War I out of Washington. Here is Hearst. Here is Gerald L. K. Smith. In short, in this camp you have the worst enemies of our people.

The election of Dewey would be a calamity for America. It would mean our involvement in another terrible war. It would mean putting into power, perhaps behind the scenes at first, but with their hands on the switches, some freebooters and reactionaries who would like nothing better than to prepare the way for an American Hitler.

Henry Epstein

Former Solicitor General, New York State

I AM supporting the candidacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman for President and Vice President.

My reasons for supporting this ticket are very simple: the leadership is trained by an experience wholly unmatched in the Republican candidates and is of a character which demands their continuance in office for the welfare of the nation. The accomplishments of the Roosevelt administration in progressive achievement and in the field of foreign relations are of such magnitude as to make it extremely dangerous for this country to be relieved of such leadership at this time.

Charles A. Collins

Executive Secretary, Negro Labor Victory Committee; Business Representative, Hotel & Club Employes Union Local 6, AFL

LABOR supports the Roosevelt-Truman ticket because it is convinced that the economic gains that have been made under the leadership of President Roosevelt for the last twelve years will continue in the postwar period. The Roosevelt administration stands for international economic cooperation and federal planning, the only guarantee to full employment for all American workers and returning veterans. Labor is for the reelection of President Roosevelt and his supporters because his present administration is committed to the complete defeat of fascism and for the establishment of appropriate international machinery to preserve the peace.

The reelection of President Roosevelt is the Negro's only guarantee that the gains, though limited, which have been made will continue. To list but a few: Through the establishment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and the President's Executive Order 8802, over 1,500,000 Negroes are employed in industry with close to 500,000 employed by the federal government itself. The Roosevelt administration favors legislation to make the FEPC permanent so that after the war Negro workers will not be indiscriminately discharged as was the case following World War I. The Supreme Court decision in the white primary case has driven a wedge that should result in the enfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the South, who for the first time since the Civil War will be able to take part in the political life of the country. The recent War Department order banning Jim Crow in post exchanges, theaters, buses, etc., operated by the Army is a social gain of tremendous proportion. If the hand of the Commander-in-Chief is strengthened on this issue, and if ever increasing pressure is brought to bear on the War Department, lasting social gains for the Negro should result.

Negroes everywhere, I am sure, recognize that these gains are the result of the policies of the Roosevelt administration. It is true that they are obscured by the many, many acts of discrimination that are everywhere present in our country; but, if the issues are made clear to them, I have no doubt that they will overwhelmingly support the President's reelection.

Dwight J. Bradley

Clergyman

I AM supporting Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman for President and Vice President.

I am doing so because I believe that the cause of progressive democracy in America and in the world will best be furthered by the election of the Roosevelt-Truman ticket and by the election of a progressive Congress, both in domestic policy and in foreign relations. Mr. Roosevelt has led us on the whole in the right direction and I believe that if given another four years he will be able to lead us further.

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I recognize the necessity in political leadership for compromises along the way and for the wise use of the dangerous expedients of political opportunism; but I have no doubt that in principle and for the most part in practice Mr. Roosevelt has followed undeviatingly a line of progressive democratic liberalism and that if given popular support and the support of Congress can and will launch forth with new determination upon a course of action both at home and in foreign policy to which all men and women of progressive convictions may rally and for which future generations will be grateful.

As to the Dewey-Bricker ticket and the congressional support which they seek, I would say that the opposite is true on every point.

Marion Hathway

Professor of Public Welfare, University of Pittsburgh

I AM supporting Franklin D. Roosevelt for President and Harry S. Truman for Vice President because they are the candidates of the party whose record during the past twelve and a half years of our national history gives me confidence that the problems of the future will be met with a program of domestic and foreign policy focussed to the well-being of the millions of men, women, and children who constitute the nation.

It has long been my conviction that the way to further a democratic way of life in the United States is to envisage both the needs of people under a democracy and potential resources to meet these needs and to relate the two together. This philosophy seems to me to have guided the present administration through the worst economic depression and the most horrible war in our entire history, both of which have placed the most serious of strains upon our democratic form of government.

When the Democrats came into power in 1933, we were in the midst of the most severe unemployment crisis in our history; millions of people were unemployed; business and industry were paralyzed; banks were failing to meet this crisis. President Roosevelt's program included unemployment relief and public works, banking reforms and aid to industry. Later the program of social security, fair labor standards, bargaining, and controls on speculation and unsound banking methods were added as permanent guarantees against the recurrence of the same set of factors. Slum clearance and low-cost housing have brought the purchase of decent housing closer to the average city wage earner; electrification and roads and financial assistance have greatly improved the lot of the farmer; further steps towards the elimination of race discrimination have been taken; a beginning of a national health program has been made.

As the result of this record, the American nation was better housed, better clad and better nourished as it faced the stresses and strains of the war period. The fortitude of the men and women in the armed forces and the morale of the civilian population during the war seem to me in large part sustained by the record of the pre-war years in meeting the needs of people, without jeopardy to the rights of any group.

Under the present administration, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union were reestablished and the way opened for future cooperation with the people of Russia. This was a foresight which has had no little bearing on relations between the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, and the United States, upon which so much depends in the establishment of a lasting peace.

It is important and vital that the transition from war to peace economy carry with it some guarantees against future wars, and it seems to me that both the experience and the outlook of President Roosevelt give far greater assurances than do those of the Republican opponent.

Patrick H. O'Brien

Judge, Probate Court, Wayne County, Mich.

REPLYING to your letter of Sept. 5, 1944, permit me to state that I am supporting Franklin D. Roosevelt for President and Harry S. Truman for Vice President of the United States as the candidates of the Democratic Party for the term of President and Vice President beginning January 20, 1945. Among many reasons, I present the following:

1. I believe that, not only in his very fortunate selection of the outstanding officers in the immediate command of our forces on the land, on the sea, and in the air, but also in his thorough grasp of the major strategic movements of our armed forces during the course of the war, Franklin D. Roosevelt has demonstrated his ability and capacity for the type of leadership demanded in this global crisis. His knowledge and experience in the area of international affairs will be an asset of overwhelming importance to the people of our country in his cooperation to establish the peace to follow.

2. Mr. Roosevelt is the leader of the Democratic Party. I am fully in sympathy with the domestic program and platform of the Democratic Party. While, naturally, there are differences both as to philosophy and policies within the Democratic Party, on the whole, the record of the party and its present platform and attitude indicate that it does represent the liberal and progressive viewpoint on national issues and that it will also be responsive to a forward looking solution of the many social, economic, and political problems that are sure to arise at the conclusion of the war.

3. The world outside of Germany and Japan would look with amazement and dismay if we should defeat the present administration when the war is rapidly drawing to a victorious close. I do not believe that it would be advisable for the people of the United States to change the national administration and overthrow Franklin D. Roosevelt as the leader of our people at a time when consistency and experience are both imperatively required not only for the construction of a just and lasting peace but also to marshal the liberal forces of the world in support of the future good will and happiness of mankind.

Don't forget to register for that all-important vote November 7. And don't forget to register your protest to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at Albany, N. Y. that Morris U. Schappes is still in jail.

Dr. Leroy Waterman

Prof. of Semitics, University of Michigan

ROOSEVELT and Truman.

"Roosevelt will do"—see Gerald W. Johnson in the September *Atlantic*, "An Open Letter to Dewey." I support Truman because there is no other way of supporting Roosevelt.

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"Maybe you'd better NOT tell me."

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NM SPOTLIGHT

FDR Explodes Some Myths

Because of the Columbus Day holiday this issue of NEW MASSES *went to press too early to permit comment on Governor Dewey's October 7 speech in reply to President Roosevelt. — The Editors.*

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S calm and lucid broadcast on October 5 gave the *coup de grace* to the two principal myths by which Governor Dewey and his backers are attempting the mass seduction of the American electorate. The President demolished the charge that the administration is planning to keep the soldiers in the Army indefinitely after the war, and he riddled the Red bugaboo propaganda of the Republican campaign. Concerning the first myth he cited not only the War Department's published plan for speedy demobilization, but the legislation already passed by Congress and approved months ago by the administration, which forbids the War and Navy Departments to "retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment." Mr. Roosevelt, without mentioning names, branded the Dewey-GOP propaganda on this question as "reckless words, based on unauthoritative sources," which are being used to "mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home."

The President dealt with the second of these disreputable myths in an offensive spirit. The cry of "Communism," he said, was being used by "labor baiters, bigots, and some politicians" to attack "every progressive social measure" and "the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree." Mr. Roosevelt cited the over three million copies of a Red-baiting document sent free through the mails by one Senator and twelve Representatives, all Republicans, and characterized this type of activity in words which deserve to be inscribed in the memories of all Americans:

"This type of fear propaganda is not new among rabble-rousers and fomenters of class hatred, who seek to destroy democracy itself. It was used by Mussolini's Black Shirts and by Hitler's Brown Shirts. It's been used before in this country by the Silver Shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. But the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use, particularly by their own Congressmen and at the taxpayers' expense."

The President followed this with a brief statement which the press headlines played up, even though it was subordinate to his attack on Red-baiting and the GOP strategy of attempting to make Communism an issue in the elections. This was the passage in which Mr. Roosevelt "disavowed" Communist support. Evidently he had been under considerable pressure, not only from the reactionaries, but from some of his own supporters to include such a statement. When one considers how frequently certain of those liberals who find fault with the President for not being "advanced" enough demonstrate their own "advancement" by resorting to Red-baiting, it is not surprising that he accepted the kind of advice he did on this point. We don't think it was sound advice, but his words should not be confused with the evil against which he struck his principal blows. It is, of course, just as inevitable that the Communists, in common with all other democratic groups, should support FDR's reelection as that the fascists and reactionaries should oppose it. For the Communists, far from seeking to "undermine the American system of government or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property," are devoting their blood and energy and ideas to defending our system of government and are basing their postwar program on measures that would enable the free enterprise system to function more effectively in the interests of our people and of world peace.

At the beginning of his address the President made a non-partisan appeal for a large registration and a large vote which, we hope, will help bring to the polls millions of those who might normally be tempted to stay at home. This is not according to Republican plan, but it is the way democracy works. And Mr. Roosevelt demonstrated the kind of political courage which his opponent so conspicuously lacks when, in criticizing restrictions on the right to vote, he called for the elimination of the poll tax. The speech as a whole was something more than a campaign document: it gives leadership to the people on the issues before them and on the whole future course of our country.

Rogues' Gallery

THERE is a distinctly stop-thief note in much of the anti-Communist hysterics of the GOP smearbund. The House Campaign Expenditures Committee has been so unkind as to place on exhibit some of the less fascinating characters who are this year finding the answer to their prayers in the Albany strong boy. For instance, there is Dr. Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government. During World War I Rumely was convicted and served a jail term as an agent of Imperial Germany. Though his paymaster today is publisher Frank E. Gannett, politically Rumely still seems to be working the same side of the street. Some years ago he was executive secretary of the Committee for the Nation, which backed Charles E. Coughlin in his flamboyant vendetta against the stability of our monetary system. For the past seven years Rumely has chaperoned Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government in activities which have won it the affection and cooperation of fascist and anti-Semitic groups throughout the country.

This outfit is now spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to defeat President Roosevelt. It had been trying to pass itself off as an "educational" organization until the House Campaign Expenditures Committee called its bluff by demanding a list of its contributors of $100 or more. Rumely balked and he has been indicted by a District of Columbia grand jury and faces a possible fine and imprisonment.

Another witness who followed Rumely's cue in defying the House committee is the well known fascist operator, Joseph P. Kamp, head of the Constitutional Educational League and associate of Lawrence Dennis and others of the seditionists now on trial in Washington.

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The Kamp racket, like the Gannett-Rumely group, has been violating the Corrupt Practices Act which requires all political campaign organizations to file financial reports by September 10 of every campaign year.

A third toiler in the Dewey vineyard, Gerald L. K. Smith, who has likewise found it inconvenient to report the sources and amounts of his campaign funds, was also asked some embarrassing questions by the House committee. But the most embarrassing questions of all ought to be asked by the American people of the man whom these fascists and corruptionists are trying to send to the White House, Governor Dewey.

Rail Labor for FDR

CANDIDATE DEWEY'S elaborate schemes to split labor drifted further into thin air this week when the presidents of four railroad unions and the head of the AFL machinists personally called upon President Roosevelt to assure him of their support. It is of great significance that D. B. Robertson, head of the Firemen and Enginemen, who opposed FDR's third term, stands for Roosevelt today. And Mr. Robertson is traditionally a Republican. Harvey M. Brown, of the 600,000 strong Machinists Union, had not taken a public stand on the elections until this occasion.

The GOP, for a considerable time, nursed the illusion that it could capture a good slice of the railroad labor vote, as well as alienate the AFL from the White House. Events prove that the Dewey braintrusters are barking up the wrong trees. Workingmen have increasingly understood the implications of a Dewey victory. They registered their reactions in the numerous conventions held this past month, the latest of which was that of the CIO Shipbuilders, who met in Atlantic City, and who endorsed an FDR victory overwhelmingly. Thus labor (with the exception of the treacherous John L. Lewis, William Hutcheson, and Matthew Woll) stands firmly in the ranks of the Roosevelt coalition.

A significant development at the shipbuilders' convention was the thumping defeat delivered to a small, but exceedingly noisy, group of Trotskyists and those under their spell. Their efforts at Red-baiting, and other divisive tactics so reminiscent of the GOP campaign today, were frustrated by the progressive coalition which reelected its top officers and a strengthened general executive board. They won on the basis of a platform pledging complete adherence to CIO policies.

Before the convention ended, however, the Trotskyites in another crucial industrial area—Detroit—showed their fangs when they maneuvered a strike of maintenance workers which threw some 30,000 war workers into idleness. The executive board meeting of the auto union, also gathered in Atlantic City, was cut short so that leading officers could fly to Detroit to convince the strikers their place was back on the job, and that their grievances, undoubtedly justified, could better be settled through the established agencies of mediation. Their pleas proved successful and as we write the strikers have returned.

The lesson of the Detroit episode is this: the group of factionalists guided by Vice President Walter Reuther are determined to exploit every grievance to throw the union into turmoil, hoping thus to gain their partisan ends—regardless of injury to the war needs and to FDR's campaign for reelection. So, despite the fact that organized labor overwhelmingly supports Mr. Roosevelt's policies, the work of the Trotskyites and their factionalist friends in labor necessitates unending vigilance and ceaseless counteraction.

Tomorrow's Schools

IN A brief speech to the first White House conference on rural education this week, Franklin Roosevelt again held up the measuring rod to the little prosecuting attorney at Albany. Laying down a program for repairing the badly damaged fabric of our rural schools, Mr. Roosevelt presented the country with a miniature, as it were, of the kind of "design for the future" we can expect under his political leadership. It recognized that education is a part of America's military strength, that our stature as a nation depends on the cultural fulfillment of all of its citizens, that teachers are human beings whose most elementary needs have been shockingly neglected. He spoke of salaries as low as $300 a year, of the thousands of schools that have been closed since Pearl Harbor for want of personnel, of the 800 schools which will not open this year. He proposed a program of federal aid—to be conducted without "interference with state and local administration and control"—to close the gap between the poorer and the richer communities. And he called for hard work and realistic thinking to solve the health problems of America's young people, so glaringly revealed when we came to recruit our Army.

How sharp a contrast to the petty record of that little man in Albany. In 1944 when New York's schools were already in an acutely critical state from the extra burdens of wartime, the economical Mr. Dewey proposed to cut state aid to education by some $8,000,000, and largely had his way. He has vetoed bills that would give thousands of substitute teachers a decent wage and tenure. New York teachers have had no increase in pay since the war despite some fifty percent rise in living costs. In the face of serious child care problems he refused to consider appropriations for the use of public school facilities to meet the crisis. And Mr. Dewey, with a fat little surplus in the state treasury, hoarded by just such measures, shouts up and down the land about administrative waste. There is a far greater waste than Mr. Dewey dreams: a waste understood only by warm-hearted people with real concern for their fellows.

The Senate's Two-Thirds

THE New York *Times* has helped provide a partial yardstick for measuring the genuineness of the devotion of the various candidates for the US Senate to postwar international collaboration. It has conducted a poll among the Democratic and Republican candidates to find out which of them would favor a constitutional amendment authorizing treaty ratification by a Senate majority instead of two-thirds, as at present, or by a majority in both branches of Congress. Of the twenty-five Democrats who replied nineteen declared themselves in favor of such an amendment (this was increased to twenty when Senator Barkley, who had at first made a noncommital reply, issued a statement supporting treaty ratification by a Senate majority). Of the fifteen Republicans who answered, only two favored such an amendment. This tends to confirm what is manifest in the platforms and presidential candidates of the two parties: that in the GOP, while a progressive win-the-war-and-peace current exists, isolationism and obstructionism are dominant; in the Democratic Party, while isolationism and obstructionism are not absent, the dominant trend is that represented by the Roosevelt-Hull policy of close cooperation with our allies.

It is of course possible to exaggerate the whole issue of treaty ratification. Throughout our history some of the most fundamental decisions in our relations with other countries have not been embodied in treaties, but in agree-

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ments and declarations made solely by the executive branch of the government. Examples that come to mind are the Louisiana Purchase, the Monroe Doctrine, the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran accords. Moreover, the difficulties that lie in the way of amending the Constitution are so formidable as to raise serious doubts about the wisdom of attempting to do so at this time. The best assurance for the future lies, in our opinion, in re-electing President Roosevelt and bringing into office a Senate and House that can be counted on to work with him.

Dewey On Taxes

As THE election campaign approaches its climax Governor Dewey becomes more and more reckless with promises and the facts of history. In his speech on tax reduction he assures the people that the high war-time taxes will be reduced if he is elected. He is well aware that both the administration and the Congress are now working on postwar tax reduction plans and that everyone in the country knows that the high war taxes are for the duration only. He does not challenge any of these plans. This is because he wants to create the false impression that the war taxes will be permanent unless the Republicans win the elections.

His belated indignation over the taxing of eleven-dollar-a-week incomes conveniently ignores the notorious fact that Republican Congressmen and southern Democrats were responsible for taxing the sub-standard incomes while Mr. Dewey was silent. Even more dishonest is the governor's charge that the administration sought to discourage high wages through an alleged ruling of the Treasury Department that $5,000 a year was an excessive wage. No one would suggest that Mr. Dewey favors $100-a-week wage standards to maintain full employment and full production. The case Mr. Dewey raises has another significance. He is really defending the Lincoln Electric Co. of Cleveland, whose case involving hidden profits, excessive bonuses, and alleged tax evasion is now pending in court. Mr. J. F. Lincoln, the owner of the company, is an ardent isolationist as well as an ardent supporter of Bricker and Dewey.

Mr. Dewey's speech was designed primarily to blame the high war taxes on the administration. It implied that the President opposes lower taxation and was in line with the earlier accusation that our soldiers will be kept in the Army indefinitely after the war. It is a part of the general Republican pattern of placing the "war guilt" on the Roosevelt administration.

New York's Wagner

SENATOR WAGNER has an enduring place in the hearts of many millions of Americans; the labor legislation bearing his name is monument to a career many a statesman may envy. The man who has championed much of labor's progress in the past decade is now standing for reelection in his home state, New York. Opposing him is a two-by-four political hack dug out of the backrooms of New York politics—Thomas J. Curran. The latter's campaign is characterized by its extreme poverty of program: he has one string to his lute, that of Red-baiting, and he strums the same monotonous tune taught him by that expert lyre player in Albany.

An examination of the speeches of the two candidates permits of no comparison: there can only be contrast. Senator Wagner's speeches are characterized by his traditional concern for the common man, and the welfare of his country. And within the framework of "free enterprise." His words have a record to back them up. "I introduced the first public works measures, not in place of jobs in private industry," he said last week, "but in place of the inhuman dole." The Social Security Act was, he points out, no substitute "for real jobs and wages." And his concern for his people did not end with these measures: "to create jobs I also introduced laws to encourage private investment in housing, extend loans to small business, strengthen our banking system and expand our trade." These are not mere promises: they are spread on Senator Wagner's record for all to see.

Candidate Curran, in the first and in the final analysis, has nothing to offer, any more than his chiefs in the GOP national committee. But Senator Wagner has a program which grows out of experience and achievement, not one, as he described Mr. Dewey's proposals, that can be achieved only by "rubbing a wishing ring." Senator Wagner spoke of an expanded economy, a large export program, "aided by international monetary stabilization and lower trade barriers." This, he points out, will mean additional jobs for American workers and additional profits for American farmers and businessmen. In every respect he towers over his opponent—and his reelection is a *must*, for November 7. Rank and file labor in New York (despite the fact that some Republican hopefuls in top AFL circles finagled to prevent a Wagner endorsement by their body) stands behind Senator Wagner. It would be well for business here to join its workers in support of his candidacy.

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The Happy Warrior

THERE was something humble and humane as there was something tough and shrewd about Al Smith which all blended into making him one of New York's most scintillant political figures. He disliked sham and the big front and people gravitated towards him, feeling instinctively that he was one of them. They loved the way he battered the language and how he never accepted Webster's dictum on how to pronounce "radio." But people were also drawn to him because, although he was a product of machine politics, it never ground him down. Al spoke up and he had guts when others were quaking in their boots about taking a stand on anti-Semitism or anti-Catholicism or any of the other hate creeds which flared up in his day. When he was governor he blazed a trail for social security measures and it was he who would not tolerate any nonsense about the rights of Socialists to sit in the State Assembly. When a good many of the respectable were trying to lynch Communists during the Red-scare of the early 'twenties, Al pardoned several Communist political prisoners with a searing statement defending their privileges as citizens. This and his gubernatorial record were the biggest side of Al. In later years he slipped for a time, perhaps grown a little too tolerant of his stuffed-shirt friends. They used him in the notorious Liberty League, and there is no doubt that he was willing to be used. But he came out of it eventually and brought his great public appeal to any number of causes from Russian War

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Relief to promoting genuine friendship between non-Jews and Jews. Al was a pure New Yorker but it is the country as a whole that will long remember him and his good works.

Bor's Surrender

As WE write the complete details of the Warsaw surrender are not available. We venture, however, that when the full story is told it will make one of the most tragic episodes of betrayal that this war has witnessed. In the first place, it was an act of criminal stupidity to have called an uprising when the Soviet armies were not prepared to coordinate their very slow advance in the area with the besieged insurgents. Yet General Bor (Komorowski) with the consent of the London emigres chose to sacrifice thousands of heroic fighters for private political gain. Now the capital is in the hands of the Germans again with Bor and his staff "captured." And the strangest and most telling aspect of the surrender is the genteel manner in which the Nazis agreed to extend prisoner-of-war rights to Bor and the underground forces. The Germans have always slaughtered Polish, Soviet, and Yugoslav irregulars; they have murdered members of the French Forces of the Interior and refused to accept General Eisenhower's demand that they treat the FFI according to the international conventions covering captured soldiers; and finally the Lublin crematorium stands as the barbarous example of what Berlin thinks of Polish resistance. But with Bor the German command is suddenly very kind and concedes him rights which they have not granted any other irregulars in Europe. Obviously the Nazis were willing to help Bor intensify differences over the Polish issue and use them to their own profit. And Bor would rather immobilize combat formations than see them fighting once again by the side of the Polish People's Army and the Red troops. It was possible for Bor to have saved many units by evacuating them across the Vistula to Soviet-liberated Praga. This he failed to do, although that it was entirely feasible is attested by the many Polish fighters who escaped over the river despite Bor's orders to the contrary.

And Bor is the man the London emigres chose to replace the notorious Sosnkowski. They thought that by this fraudulent reshuffling of cabinet personnel the stigma of their corruption could be removed. But that cannot be, because on the critical issues of building a genuinely democratic Poland living in friendship with the USSR they are—in the best Pilsudski tradition—as adamant as ever. If there are any honorable figures left among the London Poles their course of action is clear: to dissociate themselves finally from the London group and join the Lublin Liberation Committee.

Chungking's Excuses

THE outburst in Chungking over the "pitiful" flow of Allied supplies is not the first complaint of that sort which has been made. But we strongly suspect that its repetition last week was intended to hide the basic causes of the Chinese military defeats in recent months. No one will deny that the demands of the European theater have restricted the quantities of munitions sent to the Far East. Transport to China is also an enormous problem and it will remain so for a considerable time even after the Ledo Road is opened. Supplies on a scale commensurate with Chinese needs can only be delivered through a port on the southern coast—an area now menaced by the successful Japanese drives. But after these factors are taken into account they by no means serve as satisfactory explanations for the wretched defense which the Chinese armies have shown. The reasons are to be found in the whole tangled skein of Chungking's politics which enmeshes its military leadership and binds the determination of its best soldiers. The Chinese fighter must contend not only with the firepower of crack Tokyo troops but he also carries on his back the weight of Chungking corruption, its failure to mobilize all home front resources and a bureaucracy whose greed is endless. A cause for wonder is that Kuomintang troops have on many occasions done so well despite the ruinous policies which direct them.

One need only compare what soldiers in the Communist-led border regions have managed against the enemy with even less than what the Kuomintang forces have to see how absurd it is for Chungking to excuse its setbacks on the basis of insufficient Allied supplies. Without communication to the outside world, without Chennault's airforce to assist it, and blockaded by Kuomintang troops, the Communist-led armies in the year past, for example, destroyed or captured 13,000 Japanese blockhouses. This one military achievement was made possible by reliance on the people, and by democratic policies which make the rear indivisible from the front. Limited economic resources have not stood in the way. And the truth is that even if Chungking had five or ten times as much outside aid as is available now, its greater effectiveness would be open to extreme doubt so long as Chungking refuses to collaborate with the Communists and embark on a genuine program of national unity and reform.

GUEST EDITORIAL

JOSEPH BRAININ

WHAT FDR MEANS TO A JEW

IN EVERY election both Jewish and non-Jewish politicians, while making specific and unashamed appeals to the "Jewish vote," wax indignant at the very mention of it. They deny publicly the very existence of "so undemocratic a phenomenon" as a Jewish vote for or against anybody. And in this election you may confidently anticipate the hue and cry concerning a Jewish vote for Roosevelt to reach new crescendos. For it is the design of the anti-Roosevelt forces to forge the bogey of a Jewish vote for Roosevelt into a weapon with which to prevent Jews from voting for the man who leads us against fascism; their method is to conjure up grave perils that will befall the Jews if Roosevelt should be defeated. "Divide your vote equally between the two major parties and destroy the anti-

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Semitic myth of a Jewish vote," Jews are told by those who, wittingly or otherwise, lend themselves to this veritable campaign of intimidation.

I am a Jew who will cast his ballot for Roosevelt for a variety of reasons: because I passionately believe that he will fight fascism in peacetime with the same determination that characterizes his fight against it in war; because he will keep faith with the agreement of Teheran, which is our only safeguard for a real people's peace; because he believes in the welfare of the many much more than in the sanctity of balancing the government budget; because he stands uncompromisingly for the equality of men, irrespective of race, color, or creed.

But, in addition to being an American citizen who looks forward with confidence in the leadership of Roosevelt, I belong to a people one-third of whom have been massacred in cold blood by the Nazis and their satellites in Europe. And that is why, when I vote for Roosevelt on November 7, I shall feel that I am performing a sacred duty to my 4,000,000 murdered Jewish brethren in Europe. As a Jew I cannot but vote for the man whose defeat is devoutly prayed for by the Christian Fronters, Ku Klux Klanners, Coughlinites, America Firsters, Liberty Leaguers, and all the anti-Semitic riffraff that is girding its loins for the day when the New Deal and Teheran are repudiated.

Is is of relatively minor importance whether Dewey and his official sponsors are free from anti-Semitism. I am ready to grant that Dewey personally nurses no bias against any race or creed. But large sections of his supporters do not credit him with this decency. Some of these anti-Semites, anti-Negroists, anti-laborites and anti-Teheranists see in him the torch-bearer of a fascist world of tomorrow; others regard him as a bridge leading toward it.

Can I, then, cast my ballot for the party that enjoys the backing of the Wheelers, the Rankins, the Dies, the Reynolds, the Hoffmanns, and their ilk? Should I, for fear of the myth of a Jewish vote, join hands with the America First Committee, the American Mothers, the Mothers of the USA, the We the Mothers Mobilize for America, and all the other fascist phony mother groups inspired by the Coughlin ideal of "social justice"? Is it necessary for me, to avoid the epithet of "undemocratic Jewish voter," to align myself with the Peglers, the Kamps, the Sokolskys, the Hearsts, the McCormicks, and the Pattersons? Must I join in the hounding and smearing of Sidney Hillman as an un-American alien in order to satisfy the gentlemen who insist that I should give evidence of my Americanism by turning quisling to my innermost convictions?

The Jews in America are beginning to learn a lesson which the Jews in Europe have paid for with their lives. And it is this: Justice to persecuted, oppressed, and homeless Jews can come only from the liberal, progressive forces of the world. Measured against this axiomatic truth a Jewish vote against Roosevelt is a betrayal not only of America but of the destiny of the Jewish people everywhere.

It is infantile to believe that a pronouncement to a good-will organization by the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic Parties can remove the issue of anti-Semitism and anti-racialism from the political arena. In a democracy elections reflect the ideologies, ways of life, philosophies, ideals, and principles of the various factions wrestling for power. A presidential election at a time when fascism is everywhere making a supreme effort to survive cannot be treated like a baseball game in which a decree may substitute a soft ball for a hard one. If anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, and other anti-democratic political weapons could be done away with in election campaigns by the pious wishes of good-willers, then there would be no need for a Jewish, Negro, or any other group vote. I will cast my Jewish vote for Roosevelt because I refuse to disarm while my enemies are building an arsenal of fascism.

Mr. Branin is an associate editor of the "Protestant" and editor of "New Currents."

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

HOW JAPAN CAN BE TAKEN

In the two years since our first landing on Guadalcanal our amphibious and land forces have moved to the Marianas and to the Halmahera group of islands, leaving behind them almost half a hundred large and small Japanese island bases to wither away and starve. The method of our advance was transformed from "island hopping" into "leap frog" because the Japanese defenses and installations in a great number of bases proved much less formidable than was expected at first and could be left in our rear without much danger to our lines of communications. Furthermore, our own naval and air power in the Pacific has grown by leaps and bounds during this period. At this writing, our air power and task forces range as far as Celebes, the Philippines, and the Bonins, to say nothing of the still necessarily sporadic and infrequent raids by B-29 Superfortresses which have already reached to the far corners of the Japanese loot empire.

The recent meeting of Navy Secretary Forrestal with Admirals King, Nimitz, and Spruance on the West Coast was doubtless devoted to the planning of the next offensive campaign in the Pacific. It is not difficult to imagine, as several commentators have pointed out, the general scheme and pattern of this offensive. The next stage must perforce consist of an attack on the Philippines, with probable secondary operations on the flanks, against the Bonins and against the eastern islands of the Dutch East Indies. The reoccupation of the Philippines is a prerequisite to any attempt to land Allied troops on the mainland of China, between Indo-China and the estuary of the Yangtze. The next step would be to tackle Formosa and Hainan, which stand like double sentries on both sides of China's southeastern bulge.

Why should such a plan be adopted in preference to a direct attack on Japan? The answer appears to be twofold. First, the geography of the Pacific is such

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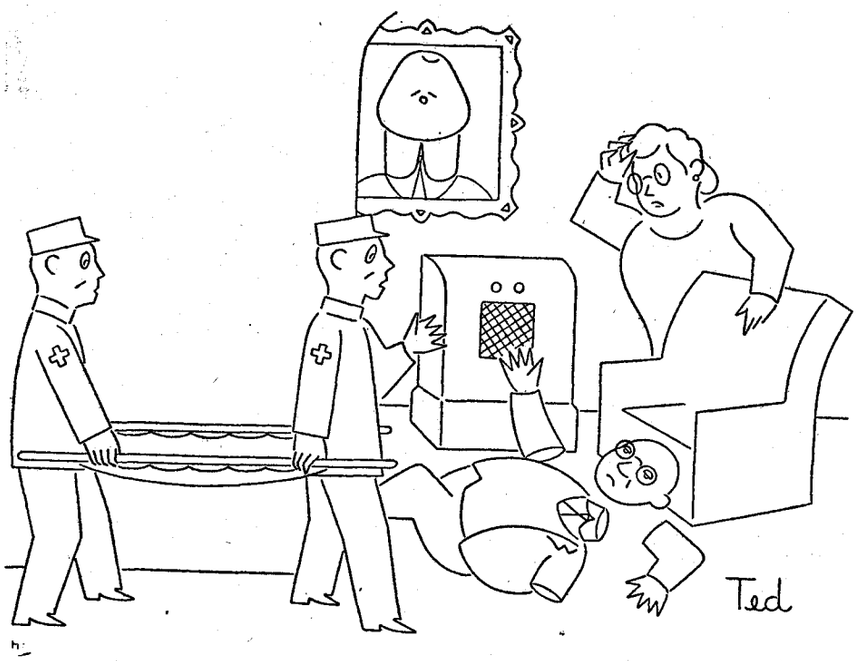

"He was sitting here listening to Dewey, when all of a sudden he went to pieces."

that there are no sizable island bases available on the approaches to Japan. Alaska, Hawaii, and New Guinea are from three to four thousand miles away and Marcus, the Bonins and the northern Marianas are too small to provide bases for an offensive operation of such scope as a direct attack on Japan. The crux of the matter is that there is simply too much empty ocean around the eastern and southern approaches to Japan. The most likely jumping off place for an attack on the enemy homeland is the coast of China, or Korea. Our approach to that coast leads via the Philippines and Formosa. The strategy is dictated by the map of the Pacific.

Secondly, it must be realized that the bulk of the Japanese army (as activated at present) is located on the continent of Asia. Some thirty divisions are in China, some forty in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, with the remaining thirty-odd divisions scattered over the home islands, in southeast Asia and in the Pacific. The Japanese army must be beaten where it is and not where it is not. Furthermore, Japan has built up a vast industrial and economic empire in North China which will have to be wrested from her before she collapses. That empire is such that it is entirely conceivable, taking into consideration the fanaticism and stubbornness of the Japanese, that Japan as a force could live for some time in North China even if the homeland were invaded. Even the total loss of Japan's battle fleet would not necessarily mean the complete collapse of Japan. The home islands are often compared to a "stomach" without which Japan cannot digest the "food" from its far-flung empire. The analogy is not completely apt, because Japan, like a ruminant, has a "double stomach" —one at home and the other in North China.

Thus it is rather clear that we must, sooner or later, invade the coast of China and come to grips with the Japanese army. The Japanese know that we are coming and their entire summer campaign this year was planned with the idea of making such a landing as difficult and costly as possible. Of the several goals in this campaign for the Japanese the most important is to clear the southeastern bulge of China of our air bases and to capture, fortify, and garrison the entire coastline. This the Japanese are about to achieve because of the remarkable weakness of the Kuomintang troops.

This weakness becomes especially apparent when one takes a look at a map showing the outline of Sino-Japanese fronts during the last seven years. We see that through this whole period the front of the Yellow River in the north, held by the People's Armies of China, has hardly moved at all, while south of Hankow—which fell in October 1938 —the Japanese have been spreading like an oil spot, first in the valley of the Yangtze, then along the coast, and finally along the Hankow-Canton line. In these operations south of the Lunghai railroad the Japanese have never used more than a dozen divisions at a time. Allowing for the isolation of China and

(*Continued on page* 31)

Minnesota's Unholy Twins

(*Continued from page* 8)

the war against Japan to as complete a victory as possible, or that it's not going to be able to." Yes, he went on, when I asked if even as we were about to beat Germany he was still a Pacific Firster, "Our strategy is basically faulty. It's more important to beat Japan first. Then we could carry on a holding war in Europe. What happens in Europe is a matter of twenty or thirty years; in Asia, it's a matter of 1,000 years." Just what did he mean? "Why, in twenty or thirty years, some one power is going to dominate Europe," and it didn't much matter who.

"Do you mean it's all the same if Hitler Germany dominates, or someone else?"

"Oh, no, I don't mean that. I don't see how any of us could contemplate Nazi domination. But whether we licked Germany this year or next, it's no difference." Meanwhile, he said, "Japan is defeating China. The failure of the British to take any definite action on their pledge of independence to India is largely to blame, and the US failure to insist on it." He admitted that the situation within China was a factor too, although he said nothing specific about the Chungking government's preoccupation with fighting the Communists instead of using all their forces to fight the enemy.

WHEN Maas says he is afraid of dropping production controls he means controls over labor, it is fair to assume from the following remarks: "They're leaving industry by the thousands on the West Coast. They're 60,000 workers short there, I was told yesterday. . . . Apparently there's a concerted effort to protect big business concerns and not to let the little fellow start on civilian production first." Then, in answer to a question: "In general I went along with the Ways and Means Committee reconversion bill [which did nothing, for small business or anyone else]. I had doubts about the Kilgore bill —it would give the government too much control when the war is over. No, I don't think universal standards of unemployment compensation are workable." Then, with a knowing leer: "The smart worker will get out of war industry, we know that." As for the worker who isn't "smart" but sticks to the job as urged to do until cutbacks force him out of employment, I suppose he deserves no unemployment compensation anyway, in Maas' eyes.

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PLANNING THE FUTURE

By RALPH BOWMAN

One manifestation of a truly progressive war can be found in the growth of advanced political and social thinking and concern for the common people. The mounting interest displayed nowadays in the postwar problems of employment, larger measures of social security and the maintenance of our living standards is but one illustration of the progressive trends of our time. The Pabst Brewing Co. recently awarded $50,000 in prizes for the best practical plans for postwar employment. During the last war this would have been unthinkable and even ten years ago it would have created a sensation. Over 35,000 men and women from all walks of life submitted proposals, and from these, a committee of judges chose seventeen winning plans, now published by the company.

Most of the winners are professional economists, nine being employed by agencies of the federal government. The professional composition of the winners quite naturally shapes the form and substance as well as the limitations of the plans. It may be unjust to the authors to treat their proposals as a whole, but since most of them share similar strengths and weaknesses, this general treatment will perhaps be more useful.

The general approach is one of optimism and confidence that the system of private enterprise can be made to work and provide full employment and at least maintain our present living standards. Virtually all agree that this can be done only with varying degrees of social planning and regulation of the national economy. This important departure from the *laissez faire* school of thought is supplemented by various measures to overcome the hesitations, uncertainties, and fears of the employers, investors, and owners of idle capital. Most of the authors understand that a substantial portion of the national income (mainly profits) does not return into circulation and thereby slows down the entire economic process, creating unemployment, lower national income, depressions, etc. The central problem, therefore, is: how to induce the holders of these "savings" to put their share of the national income back into circulation in the form of investments. Wise application of taxes is a favorite instrument to stimulate the reinvestment of profits in both new and old enterprises and to regulate the entire economic and social process. The authors propose that monopolies be restricted in various ways, but primarily through strict enforcement of anti-trust laws. Constant reinvestment of all new capital would create an expanding economy which in turn would mean steady employment.

Most of the authors concede that under the best conditions there will be periodic depressions, which on the whole they propose to overcome through increased and all-inclusive unemployment insurance, free distribution of essential commodities by the government, and large-scale, socially useful public construction. These proposals to ease the burdens of unemployment, dealt with in considerable detail in several of the plans, testify to the progressive outlook of these men and women. But they also illustrate the basic inadequacy of their plans in achieving a general market economy that will function uninterruptedly. The objective of the contest was not merely to develop solutions for the postwar conversion to peace economy but rather to produce plans for *permanent* full employment. Most of the authors are well aware of what one refers to as the "degenerative trends in the market economy." This simply means that the productive capacity of our industries is far greater than the buying power of the people. They are also aware that the war has greatly increased our productive capacity, and further, that their plans for continuous reinvestment of profits mean uninterrupted growth of the productive forces.

One need not be an expert economist to see that the proposed expanding economy requires a steadily rising buying power on the part of the consumer if the resultant vast and increasing flow of goods and services is to be absorbed by our population. There can be

"Oil for a South Pacific Beachhead," pen sketch by David Fredenthal. Part of an exhibition of drawings of the oil industry at war, at the Brooklyn Museum through November 12.

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no full employment and full use of the production machinery if there are no adequate provisions for the continuous disposal of the fruits of this production. *The crux of the problem is therefore raising the purchasing power of the consumers.* The various plans must be judged by the extent to which they would be likely to realize the full distribution and consumption of the steady flow of goods and services.

The plan of twenty-eight-year-old Herbert Stein, chief of the Economic Analysis Section of the War Production Board, won the first prize of $25,000. But Mr. Stein's chief concern is to overcome the lack of confidence and the uncertainties on the part of capital. The problem of distributing the goods produced does not enter his plan and hence there is no perspective of raising the living standards of the people, no mention of the role of trade unions and no concern with foreign trade. His plan is largely a matter of oiling the bearings, adjusting the carburetor and priming the sparkplugs of the economic machine.

On the other hand, a minor prize-winner ($1,000), Joseph M. Gillman, assistant chief of the Munitions Branch of the Planning and Statistics Bureau of the WPB, recognizes that permanent full employment is something much more than supplying everyone with a job. He proposes to increase the purchasing power of the people as a part of the process of redistribution of the national income. Like Mr. Stein he calls for broader unemployment benefits. But he would also provide a minimum wage, a forty-hour week, limit large incomes and expand our foreign trade to ward off unemployment.

While Mr. Stein approaches the problem of employment as an economic expert, Mr. Gillman treats it as a broad social undertaking. For full employment and full utilization of our magnificent industrial enterprise is not merely the opposite of unemployment. It implies a phenomenal rise in the production of national wealth. And this demands a constant rise in the purchasing power of the people.

Both authors reject automatic self regulation of our economy and call for government guidance and control. While Mr. Stein limits the role of labor to actual production, Mr. Gillman would involve labor through its trade unions in the planning and regulation of the social-economic processes. These two plans represent two types of approach to the problem of full employment. All the other winners fall somewhere in between, but mainly in the direction of Mr. Stein. There is, for example, Prof. Albert G. Hart of Iowa State College, who proposes less labor legislation and a curb on labor's demands in regard to hours and wages. Rev. Dr. John F. Cronin of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, would reject the expansion of foreign trade on the grounds that export of goods and capital must ultimately be paid for by foreign-made goods.

Helen West Heller

Among the plans are also more progressive proposals leaning toward Mr. Gillman's. The winner of the second prize of $10,000, Leon H. Keyserling, general counsel of the National Housing Agency, would provide material comforts, educational opportunities, secure jobs and creative leisure for all people. The plan of Mordecai Ezekiel, economic advisor to the Secretary of Agriculture, includes all the elements proposed by Gillman except the expansion of foreign trade. John H. G. Pierson, chief of the Postwar Labor Problems Division of the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, would have the government underwrite the consumer's income and place the right to a job on the same level as the right to free speech. He, however, ignores both the trade unions and foreign trade. It would appear that the judges followed no consistent standards but rather sought a wide variety of plans. The outstanding weakness in the majority of the proposals is that they either ignore or minimize the need to raise national living standards, seriously expand foreign trade and involve our labor unions in the solution of the crucial problem of full employment.

THE general inadequacy of most of these plans becomes clear in the light of the following figures. The value of our national production rose from $89,000,000,000 in 1939 to over $200,000,000,000 in 1944. Roughly one-half of this production is war material. After the war most of the men and women now in the armed forces will return to the farms and factories and will further increase this output. The war market will have vanished while the production capacity will be larger than ever. As long as production continues, new capital in the form of profits is generated and must be reinvested, thereby further raising the quantity and quality of the productive capacity. A substantial rise in consumers' buying power, large-scale public construction and a vast increase of foreign trade will be required to keep our economic enterprise going. Though not even the trade unions would at this time propose a rise in wages and salaries to absorb our *entire* output, it is obvious that a steady rise in wages is one of the prerequisites for maintaining full employment and full production. The steady expansion of the consuming public's income must become a national government policy and the ultimate aim of all social groups and classes.

Our foreign trade before the war fluctuated around the $4,000,000,000 mark annually. This figure must be immensely increased. In part this will be made possible by the needs of war-ravaged Europe and Asia, as well as by the at least temporary elimination of Germany and Japan as competitors for world trade. But postwar reconstruction and the entire prewar capacity of the world market will not absorb the surplus of even our current production. The deeper solution is conditioned by the historically progressive nature of this war. With the defeat and extermination of fascism and allied feudal reaction there will arise a number of advanced democratic governments, especially in the occupied and war-ravaged nations. Judging by the social composition and the progressive nature of the Yugoslavian, Italian, French, and Polish liberation movements the world is entering a new epoch of progress and democracy marked by primary concern for the welfare of the common people. This trend is, and can only be, in the direction of socially controlled industrialization, consciously sponsored in order to raise the living standards of all peoples to new high levels. This development opens the possibility of a new lease of life to our private enterprise economy. Thus American capitalism can maintain a high level of employment and play a progressive role in industrializing the world until such time as we raise the purchasing

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power of our people sufficiently to absorb our full production.

The Pabst contest plans, despite their weaknesses, represent a trend in the right direction. They deserve study by government agencies, labor unions, progressive groups, and by all persons who want to meet constructively the challenge of the postwar.

Stories That Breathe

THE LEANING TOWER AND OTHER STORIES, *by Katherine Anne Porter. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.*

MORE than one reviewer has found radiant adjectives for Miss Porter's prose and then confessed that the stories themselves baffled (or "eluded") him. Perhaps they have seemed baffling because the majority are not stories at all, even in the very informal sense permitted today. They are more like notes for a larger work—readable, suggestive, but nonetheless notes. The longer ones promise to fall into a more familiar form, wherein the carefully simple, casual tone of the narrative is supposed to stress the inner meaning, if any. But Miss Porter violates the rules of that sort of writing also. Unlike most authors of such fiction she is not afraid that seriousness and honesty will sink the precious craft. Nor does she reject inner meanings that extend beyond the personal lives of one or two characters.

The title story of this volume is an example. It is a picture of Berlin (December 1931), given through the experiences of an American painter who has come to discover for himself the remarkable city described to him in childhood by a German schoolmate. He discovers instead some rather remarkable people; landladies who weep when their rooms are rejected, storekeepers who pale if their merchandise is returned, a Heidelberg student whose glory is his dueling wound, a barber who offers to clip one's hair in a top-lock made popular by a little politician from Munich. The visitor encounters a near-hysteria of hopelessness, an offended pride beginning to fester into arrogance and hatred. And he tastes the dark foreknowledge of destruction.

But I am making it sound too heavy. Miss Porter tells the story in a series of everyday incidents, some trivial, some amusing, with a quiet accumulation of grimness that is accented rather than broken by a flash of pure happiness on New Year's Eve. The style is easy and conversational, there is all the writing simplicity you can ask for, but the story itself—which occupies more than a third of the book—is not planed down to pointlessness or polished into a bleak glitter.

Aside from one rousing tale of a Tammany Irish couple, the other stories are of the South. They are largely character sketches, obliquely suggesting the restless shifting of forces under the orderly pattern of "old family" surfaces. The most impressive concerns a white matriarch and her former slave, now servant and companion, who retrace the past together, with the life and memories of one serving as counterpoint to the other's. Miss Porter also gives us, in less than five pages, a Negro man born in slavery and still so obsessed by the tortures of that time ("Dey used to take 'em out and tie 'em down and whup 'em . . . wid gret leather strops . . . till dey backs was all raw and bloody . . .) that he goes around muttering threats of similar torture as penalty for petty offenses. There is a danger, however, that people who insist on Negroes being lovable but droll may misinterpret them so in these stories too. Actually they are not—the author is neither insultingly "sympathetic" nor superciliously humorous—but the fanatical traditions of the rose-and-camellia thinkers need a counteractive of harsher truths than are provided here.

A word more about Miss Porter's style. Her way of telling a story, it appears, is simply to write it down as it occurs to her, with no more decoration than the natural rhythms of her sentences. Furthermore, she can be not only simple but plain and, if it suits her, even blunt. How many writers, who know the law that characters must slowly "evolve" with no interference from the author, would dare to write within the limits of a short story: "She had already begun to develop her implicit character, which was altogether just, humane, proud, and simple. She had many small vanities and weaknesses on the surface: a love of luxury and a tendency to resent criticism. This tendency was based on her feeling of superiority in judgment and sensibility to almost everyone around her. It made her very hard to manage." Miss Porter does it beautifully and gets away with it. You also get the impression that while other people blue-pencil or avoid their cliches, she has never known any. The total result is very fine prose. I wish she would give us more of it.

BARBARA GILES.

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He Really Does

I HATE ACTORS, *by Ben Hecht. Crown. $2.50.*

BEN HECHT has written a new murder mystery novel called *"I Hate Actors."* The title is no accident. He really hates them. To him actors do little more than "make faces and wear make-up." They are all egomaniacs, mostly illiterate, and how they learn to speak at all he wouldn't know. Not only Hollywood actors. All actors, including those of the Soviet Union. "Ordinary and even extraordinary disasters do not affect actors. Their dedication to make-believe is stronger than any incursions of reality." He has the temerity to quote a Russian actor on the Leningrad front to prove his point.

But actually, what gives Hecht the fantods is not his contempt for actors alone. He sneers with equal fervor on the doings of studio heads, producers, and writers who might think that Hollywood has a future. For Hecht makes it pretty clear that he regards Hollywood as a pretty dreary place, a playground for small minds. It is engaged in sucking the last flavors from an endless saturnalia, a madhouse of ivory, apes, and peacocks, where the irrational is the norm. It is inhabited by dopes, sex-maniacs, and crooks. It might occur to an irreverent reader or two to ask when people in Hollywood work, but for Hecht, the answer is simple. They never work. What transpires on the sound stages is a carry-over from private parties—dope-taking, jealous brawls, seductions; but here they get huge gobs of moola for carrying on.

The virtues that obtain in decent communities of the rest of the country are simply preposterous for Hollywood. The only recourse for men of sense and feeling, says Hecht, is to "lie incommunicado in darkened rooms." I assume, of course, that when in Hollywood Hecht follows this advice. That would account for his colossal ignorance of what the real Hollywood is like. If he came out of the dark, he would know that an organization of actors, writers, directors, etc., recently put the boot to Representative Costello, of the Dies committee. He would also know that the same people are doing a terrific job on the war and take second place to none in the fight against reaction. I could list other examples to prove that Hollywood is not the complete land of make-believe that Hecht describes. In connection with Hollywood parties, it must have been a great day when Hecht discovered that there was more of a drift towards settling world problems than seduction.

Since Hecht is more concerned with pursuing his image of Hollywood than he is in sticking to the business of writing a mystery, his book does not come off as a detective novel. There is no suspense, no curiosity concerning the murders, hardly any plotting. But then, Hecht is more interested in fictions concerning the movie industry than in his characters. As for so-called wisecracks with which the pages are liberally sprinkled, one publisher confided to me that he had turned down the Hecht novel cold because it contained a brand of humor and thinking popular among college sophomores around 1924. JOSEPH FOSTER.

Touring the Molecules

MR. TOMPKINS EXPLORES THE ATOM, *by George Gamow. Macmillan. $2.00.*

DR. GAMOW created Mr. Tompkins in 1940 in an excellent bit of whimsical science, *Mr. Tompkins in Wonderland*. Back in that year the struggling bank clerk, Tompkins, sought the hand of Maud, daughter of a physics professor. This was a hectic romance and took the hero through four-dimensional space, relativity, and quantum theory.

The father-in-law gave Tompkins four quiet years in which to recover from his scientific adventures and enjoy some real domestic bliss. But Dr. Gamow has aroused the professor once more and the physicist is determined to shake his son-in-law out of his intellectual stagnation.

Maud Tompkins is taken on a tour among the molecules of her husband's whisky and soda. He wanders as erratically as a dancing chlorine atom. The new course of science trails includes the first law of thermodynamics, a trip inside the atom, and life among the transmutation particles of sub-atomic space.

Maud's adventures cause a disturbance in theoretical reasoning and give the professor some surprising results when he tries to explain the principles of increasing entropy. Tompkins meets positrons, alpha particles, and neutrons. He even gets to examine the neutrino, the particle whose existence is still in doubt. As an electron Tompkins can move only in certain prescribed paths and thus becomes acquainted with Pauli's exclusion principles. He learns the obstacles faced and overcome by Rutherford and Perrin. His electron companions in the chlorine planetary

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system patiently explain cyclotrons, Bohr theory, and quantum energy with clear and amusing analogies.

To get a more serious and connected picture of modern physics the author has added a series of four lectures to the end-papers. These deal with the reality of atoms, atomic structure, and Dirac's theory—which predicted the existence of the positron and nuclear transformation.

This book is delightful, different, and not difficult. It will not make a nuclear physicist of any reader—but it certainly will acquaint him with the latest ideas in the science. JAMES KNIGHT.

"SEVENTH CROSS"

EVERY once in a while, a film like *Seventh Cross* comes along to remind us of the maturity and artisanship of which the movie industry is capable. It is a brilliant film, acted, directed, photographed, and written in the finest traditions of this young art. Dealing as it does with matters of a personal and universal interest, depicting aspects of a struggle that touches all of us, the picture contains a tautness and a suspense that should earn an Oscar for all those engaged in its production.

As a picturization of Anna Seghers' novel, *Seventh Cross* deals with the escape of seven prisoners from the concentration camp of Westhofen. This escape touches off the forces of good and evil as they existed in Nazi Germany in 1936. The showing of the film at this time raised doubts in the minds of reviewers and movie-goers. It might contribute to the arguments for a soft peace. Nothing could be further from the truth. The very people on whose presence in Germany this argument is based would be the first to cry out against a soft peace. And those of similar persuasion outside Germany would hardly soften their hearts and heads on the matter of postwar settlements because of the existence of a handful of unconquerable anti-Nazis. I do not think this argument has any validity. To maintain it is to hold that a reading of the original novel is equally untimely, and I have not yet heard that question raised. On the contrary the film, like the book, by calling attention to this flame of decency, emphasizes the vast night that has engulfed Germany.

The commander at Westhofen has whittled down seven plane trees to man-high crosses. One escaped prisoner after another is brought back and an article of clothing is hung on the cross as a reminder to the rest of the prisoners that the Nazi state is almighty—so reckless a thing as an escape is doomed to utter and inevitable failure. All the prisoners are caught but the seventh. And in that unadorned plane tree, in the escape of George Heisler, is the symbol of hope, the final triumph of the human spirit over bestiality.

So long as the seventh cross is cheated of its victim, so long will the courage of the other Westhofen inmates remain unshaken. Thus the manhunt is more than pursuit of an escaped prisoner. It is a breathtaking struggle of two forces, the unflinching dignity of man against the unleashed fury of a viciously directed trip hammer. As drama it poses the hero against his hostile environment, the man of stamina and ingenuity outwitting the antagonist of overwhelming odds. Of course he has help, from pitiably few people. Together or alone, continually they redefine the odds and the struggle. The recapture of the prisoners, one by one, heightens the intensity of the contest, and one scene, beautifully directed, demonstrates how meager are their chances of victory.

Bellani, one of the escaped pre-Hitler anti-Nazis, and once the leading acrobat of Germany, is trapped among the rooftops of Mainz by the Gestapo. The crowd collects to watch the chase. It is a spectacle in which Bellani, the man, has no meaning for them; he is a strange animal, being rightfully pursued by the properly designated guardians of their society. When he finally dives to his death, it is regarded as so much work accomplished in the rounding up of the miscreants.

AGAINST this vast background of corruption, indifference, and unenlightened curiosity, the wonder is that friends could be found in this small city of Mainz in sufficient numbers to help Heisler with his final escape. They operate with a sense of realism rarely encountered in the films. In particular, the portraiture of Paul and Liesl Roeder are so memorable as to endow the picture with a secondary meaning. They are the little people, without political self-consciousness, completely taken in

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by the national stork derby, won over by government bonuses and tax exemptions for every child they produce for the Reich. When George Heisler, hunted and desperate, feverishly considers every possibility of asylum, he hits upon the Roeders, timid folk who had avoided anti-Nazi activities in the old days. In 1936 they are still full of faith and decent impulses, sweetly simple and law-abiding. Paul Roeder's surprised: "A fine thing!" uttered slowly and unbelievingly at any act or event that upsets his normal routine or arouses his indignation, expresses his naive relations to his political and social environment. When, through his aid to Heisler, he is accidentally thrown against the brutal authority of the Third Reich, his naivete begins to lose its bloom. He is picked up by the Gestapo, drilled all day and finally released at night. As he stands outside the Gestapo headquarters, his "A fine thing!" connotes a changed man. So much evil in the world, he discovers. He is now the fighter he didn't want to be.

The presence of the Roeders raises inevitably a curiosity concerning their fate, since it is from these unpretentious folk, the *Massenmensch,* that the future regeneration of Germany must come. What has happened to him in the succeeding eight years? Of course, we know that in all probability he became one of the millions fighting in the Nazi armies—provided he didn't die first in a concentration camp. Did his newly-found political understanding sustain him against the Goebbels ideological onslaughts? Or did he march to war, intoning finally the might and superiority of the Nazi-Wotan war machine? In the light of the general surrender of the German working class to the aims of Hitlerism, the chances of a sound Paul Roeder emerging from the moral holocaust are possible but very slim. In this regard, it is interesting to note that in a letter to the American press Anna Seghers writes that in the wake of the invading Allied armies, many old underground friends have turned up, and that she had heard of many she believed dead, including some in Germany. There was also published recently, in London, a leaflet that had been issued by the Communist Party of Germany calling for the end of the war and the overthrow of Hitlerism. At any rate, the organized strength of anti-fascist resistance in Germany itself can only be speculated upon, for the present.

One couldn't help thinking of these matters as the Roeders and their friends

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put their courage on the line in battling the Gestapo. And it is the beautiful portrayal of these small people, the feeling of their genuineness, that prevents the melodramatic qualities of the action from blurring the essential meanings of the film.

The successful transfer of the book to the screen is due largely to intelligent selection of incident. Many of the book's details are omitted, and the direct juxtaposition of Gestapo against anti-fascist, posed against crowd movements, provides the finely spun drama. Since the picture must move faster than the novel, there is no time for character exploration, for introspective anecdote, for historical reminiscing. The book is a psychological study of a people, as well as a narrative of specific persons. The MGM version, based on Anna Seghers' conclusions, is mainly action. Character, therefore, emerges from the dramatic collision of opposing forces, from the direct and continuous episodes of the manhunt. The chief problem for the movie was the maintaining of suspense, the utilization of material to keep on a high level the interest aroused by the introduction of the subject and the sympathy for the unconquered seventh man. In this the film succeeds admirably, and screenwriter Helen Deutsch is deserving of much credit.

A new man, Fred Zinneman, has by his masterly direction endowed the film with fine vivid qualities. The acting of Spencer Tracy as George Heisler, Signe Hasso as Toni (his sweetheart in the one overlong sequence of the film), Hume Croyn as Roeder, Jessica Tandy as his wife, Herbert Rudley as Marnet, and some sixteen additional players contribute to the impression that *Seventh Cross* is one of the major film achievements of the year.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

Japan

(*Continued from page* 24)

the lack of supplies from the outside (20,000 tons per month flown across the Himalayas is not very much, of course), but considering its enormous population and rich resources, one comes to the conclusion that something is radically wrong in Chungking's social-economic organization.

The same situation exists to a certain extent in India, which is the other base for an attack on Japan on the territory of China. India too, with its 400,000,000 people, has not been fully mobilized. Both pictures—China and India—are pathetic, and their improvement is really the key to a speedy victory.

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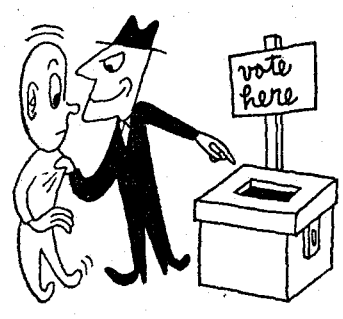

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